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Articles

Mission

ATINER is an Athens-based World Association of Academics and Researchers based in Athens. ATINER is an independent and non-profit **Association** with a **Mission** to become a forum where Academics and Researchers from all over the world can meet in Athens, exchange ideas on their research and discuss future developments in their disciplines, **as well as engage with professionals from other fields**. Athens was chosen because of its long history of academic gatherings, which go back thousands of years to *Plato's Academy* and *Aristotle's Lyceum.* Both these historic places are within walking distance from ATINER's downtown offices. Since antiquity, Athens was an open city. In the words of Pericles, **Athens*"...is open to the world, we never expel a foreigner from learning or seeing".*** **(**"Pericles' Funeral Oration", in Thucydides, *The History of the Peloponnesian War).* It is ATINER's **mission** to revive the glory of Ancient Athens by inviting the World Academic Community to the city, to learn from each other in an environment of freedom and respect for other people's opinions and beliefs. After all, the free expression of one's opinion formed the basis for the development of democracy, and Athens was its cradle. As it turned out, the Golden Age of Athens was in fact, the Golden Age of the Western Civilization. *Education* and *(Re)searching* for the 'truth' are the pillars of any free (democratic) society. This is the reason why *Education* and *Research* are the two core words in ATINER's name.

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The current issue is the fourth of the seventh volume of the *Athens Journal of Education (AJE), published by published by the Education Unit of ATINER.*

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Gregory T. Papanikos
President
ATINER

Athens Institute for Education and Research

A World Association of Academics and Researchers

23rd Annual International Conference on Education
17-20 May 2021, Athens, Greece

The Education Unit of ATINER organizes its **23rd Annual International Conference on Education, 17-20 May 2021, Athens, Greece** sponsored by the Athens Journal of Education. The aim of the conference is to bring together scholars and students of education and other related disciplines. You may participate as stream leader, presenter of one paper, chair a session or observer. Papers (in English) from all areas of education are welcome. Please submit a proposal using the form available (https://www.atiner.gr/2021/FORM-EDU.doc).

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- **Dr. Gregory T. Papanikos**, President, ATINER.
- **Dr. David Philip Wick**, Director, Arts, Humanities and Education Division, ATINER & Professor of History, Gordon College, USA.
- **Dr. John Spiridakis**, Co-Editor, Athens Journal of Education & Professor, St. John University, USA.
- **Dr. Alexander Makedon**, Head, Education Unit, ATINER & Independent Scholar (Retired Full Professor, Chicago State University, USA).

Important Dates

- Abstract Submission: **19 October 2020**
- Acceptance of Abstract: 4 Weeks after Submission
- Submission of Paper: **19 April 2021**

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The Social Program Emphasizes the Educational Aspect of the Academic Meetings of Atiner.

- Greek Night Entertainment (This is the official dinner of the conference)
- Athens Sightseeing: Old and New-An Educational Urban Walk
- Social Dinner
- Mycenae Visit
- Exploration of the Aegean Islands
- Delphi Visit
- Ancient Corinth and Cape Sounion

More information can be found here: www.atiner.gr/social-program

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Conference fees vary from 400€ to 2000€
Details can be found at: https://www.atiner.gr/2019fees

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The Education Unit of ATINER is organizing the **5th Annual International Symposium on "Higher Education in a Global World", 5-8 July 2021, Athens, Greece** sponsored by the Athens Journal of Education. The aim of the symposium is to examine educational developments throughout the world in universities, polytechnics, colleges, and vocational and education institutions. Academics and researchers from all areas of education are welcomed. You may participate as stream organizer, presenter of one paper, chair a session or observer. Please submit a proposal using the form available (https://www.atiner.gr/2021/FORM-COLEDU.doc).

Important Dates

- Abstract Submission: **7 December 2020**
- Acceptance of Abstract: 4 Weeks after Submission
- Submission of Paper: **7 June 2021**

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- **Dr. David Philip Wick**, Director, Arts, Humanities and Education Division, ATINER & Professor of History, Gordon College, USA.
- **Dr. John Spiridakis**, Co-Editor, Athens Journal of Education & Professor, St. John University, USA.
- **Dr. George Priovolos**, Director, Center for Small and Medium-Sized Enterprises (CSME) & Professor, Iona College, USA.

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The Lure of Autocratic Education in a Somewhat Democratic Society

By Xenia Coulter[*] & Lee Herman[†]

The United States (US) has since its inception considered the education of its citizens as critical for preserving democracy. The recent attractiveness of autocratic leaders, not only in the US but across the world, raises questions about the dominant educational model now in place. We argue that the authoritarian and business-oriented structure and the information delivery model of learning today produce students who learn to rely on ready-made answers from those in authority. We describe, in contrast, the educational practices and philosophies of John Dewey and Socrates that expect students to find and evaluate their own answers. We also describe our experiences as professors in an American public university that for some time promoted through its policies and procedures equality between teacher and student and diversity among students through individualized learning activities. The result, we argue, were students comfortable with dialogic learning, collaborative inquiry, and independent thinking. We also describe how, despite its initial promise, our college, along other such schools, could not be sustained. We suggest that while the fragility of democratic education may be due to external factors over which we have no control, it is also due to certain human traits: a predisposition for efficiency and immediate decision-making, which makes it difficult to acknowledge ignorance or engage in self-examination; and the need for control, the lure of power and its corollary, the will to submit. If teachers would critically examine their reliance upon lectures, textbooks, and exams and consider other models of teaching, we believe they could, within their own classrooms, create communities of dialogue, collaboration, and free thought. We call upon both teachers and students to explore ways of learning that are inherently democratic and will help democracy, not autocracy, flourish in society and all its institutions.

Keywords: democracy, Dewey, dialogue, progressive education, Socrates.

Introduction

> *Every government degenerates when trusted to the rulers of the people alone. The people themselves, therefore, are its only safe depositories. And to render even them safe, their minds must be improved to a certain degree. This indeed is not all that is necessary, though it be essentially necessary. An amendment of our constitution must here come in aid of the public education.* Thomas Jefferson (2011, p. 254)

The recent emergence of populist autocratic leaders in nations across the world, including the United States, raises questions about the role of education in encouraging this alarming development. The United States has since its inception regarded education as critical to forming and sustaining democracy. Even as the US *Constitution* was approved, Thomas Jefferson called for citizen education as key to the success of this new experiment in government. Leaders in any situation,

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he argued, will inevitably succumb to tyranny; and in a democracy, only the people have the power to prevent this from happening. To be aware of this danger and to know how to respond, people must be educated. It is from this tradition that we as American educators, ask now whether educational institutions and practices might be changed so as to prevent or at least temper the current lure of autocracy.

In this article we will argue that in our colleges and universities today, it is not surprising that our graduates seem disturbingly comfortable in autocratic social, political and economic environs. We will then describe the educational practices and philosophy of John Dewey on the one hand and Socrates on the other that were exquisitely in tune with the structure and goals of a democratic society. We will also describe our own experiences as professors in an American public university which in its policies and procedures, for a short period in its history, promoted equality between teacher and student, and the kind of free but responsible thinking and openness to diversity that a democracy demands. Most importantly, we will describe how, despite its promising beginning, our college increasingly obstructed its democratic mission as it inexorably moved back to a traditionally hierarchical and autocratic culture. This development has prompted us to wonder about the ways in which teachers might be better prepared to defy the pressures that constrain their efforts to prepare students for democratic living – if indeed they can be persuaded to make such efforts.

Education Today

Perhaps it is not that remarkable that the predominant customs and methods of teaching in our somewhat democratic societies are strictly hegemonic. Classroom teachers have absolute or nearly absolute authority over what is to be learned, how it is to be acquired, and how it is to be assessed. Students, if they hope to graduate, are expected to submit to this authority. Teachers themselves, especially in colleges and universities, operate in an august hierarchy of the tenured and untenured, the full professors and the lesser ones. It seems unlikely that persons steeped in modern day academic culture – both students and teachers – could ever learn to recognize the dangers of tyranny much less the importance in a democratic society of resisting it. Indeed, it is also unlikely that most American teachers are even aware of the role originally assigned to them by the founders of American democracy – that is, to prepare their students to be citizens who will protect and nurture the freedoms democracy affords and shoulder the responsibilities it requires.

It is not only that teachers have succumbed to the lure of autocracy, but so too has the entire educational enterprise. Educational institutions fit well with the largely non-democratic cultures of businesses and of social and civil service bureaucracies. These are the non-academic institutions in which many higher education graduates will likely find employment. One could credibly argue that college and university administrators across the world actively seek equal status with existing political and economic power brokers. Indeed, college presidencies are often semi-autocratic positions (for example, Articles IX and X in State

University of New York, 2014). In the institutions they control, a standardized curriculum is delivered through mandatory textbooks and the learning assessed by lengthy exams, both being produced by huge publishing and testing companies. Within such an autocratic-seeming world there is very little room for students to experience, appreciate, and respect freedom of thought and action. They learn to favor unequivocal answers to intellectual and practical questions, while also learning to complete their academic work with the least time and effort. Thus, they seek certainty, simplicity, homogeneity and efficiency – the virtues of power. How can we be surprised then when our graduates, rather than stimulated and enriched, feel threatened and uncomfortable with uncertainty, diversity, and complexity in the real world? It should also not be a surprise that even the most educated look for the "right answers" from those in power and that they feel frustrated, humiliated, and angry when confronted by situations that are not simply and easily resolved. Over the many years our citizens now spend in school, when do they ever have a chance to practice hearing the unrecognized, listening to the less powerful, making decisions for themselves, and learning how to evaluate and modify their positions with new information? Instead, graduates of our schools would seem well prepared to thrive not in democratic but autocratic societies. Because democracies do fail (see e.g., Adorno, Frenkel-Brunswik, Levinson & Sanford, 1950; Levitsky & Ziblatt, 2018), this phenomenon is of great concern.

Dewey's Philosophy

One hundred years ago, John Dewey, arguably the most notable and perhaps the most "American" of philosophers from the United States, exposed this alarming disconnect between the education as it was actually practiced and the democratic life that Americans professed (Dewey, 1916). He asserted that education should mirror the society in which it takes place. Thus, students in democratic schools should be able to experience the same freedoms promised by the democratic society in which they live. Education is not preparation for life, Dewey argues (p. 54-56), but a microcosm of life itself. In a classroom that models a democratic society, teachers treat students as though they are their own agents in learning. Gert Biesta (2017), a modern-day philosopher of education from the United Kingdom, describes the teacher/student relationship similarly: Students, instead of being treated as taught objects, are regarded as autonomous subjects, capable and intelligent enough to learn on their own when helpfully invited to do so.

For both Dewey and Biesta, such an approach to education mirrors what should take place in a society where people are free to follow their own desires, but disciplined enough to hone their own wants and acknowledge those of others (Biesta, 2017, calls this combination of discipline and freedom "grown-up"). This is what psychologists mean by being "assertive," that is, inhabiting a kind of middle ground between being "aggressive" at one end and "passive" at the other (see, e.g., Murphy, 2011). Whereas Dewey and Biesta mostly focused on the education of children, Lindeman (1927), a strong supporter of Dewey's, showed that these ideas were equally relevant to the education of adults. Indeed, in our

own experience, such methods of teaching are applicable to not just traditional-aged college students, but to any adult seeking a university education.

Dewey's major book, *Democracy and Education* (1916), plus many shorter articles about his experiences as the director of an elementary school he created as a laboratory, delved deeply into the ways in which an education appropriate to a democracy might be carried out. For him, the chief enemy of education in a democracy was standardization. In order to maximize diversity, Dewey envisioned a school where each student's unique configuration of interests, talents, and goals, could be recognized and developed. In that way, schools were expected to nurture a highly diverse population with a variety of strengths that, in adulthood, could be applied to the as yet unknown but inevitable challenges of the future. Such individuality was promoted by offering students hands-on experiences or provocative problems that gave learners space in which to take charge of their own learning as they contemplated in their own ways the knowledge these experiences were designed to evoke. Additionally, students worked together as they shared back and forth their varied insights and ideas, and in so doing they came to appreciate the value of multiple thoughts in revising their own initial reactions and in discovering the best possible solutions. A podcast by Finkel (2015) provides excellent examples of this process in teaching mathematics. The viewer can easily see the learning advantage that accrues when a teacher refuses to give a class of students the right answers but instead provides them with enough time and space to not only come up with their own answers but to figure out for themselves how to validate them.

As exemplified by Finkel, many people advocate for progressive education (the term often applied to Dewey's form of education) for reasons other than its relationship to democracy. For one thing, it is clearly humane: Students consider progressive classes fun (e.g., Mayhew and Edwards, 1936/1967; see also Finkel's insistence, 2015, that learning should be a form of play). Secondly, in terms of learning, which is Finkel's main interest (see also Paley, 1992), the process seems to yield more sustained interest and better-quality comprehension. Moreover, nowhere in Dewey's writings does he propose a curriculum or specific courses related to the concepts or structure of a democratic government. Instead, his focus, and similar to that of Biesta (2017), is on the way students learn together in freedom as equals. Dewey relies on the natural sociability of human beings to help them figure out how to accommodate each other's differences. He also expects that if the learning experiences truly engage them, students will naturally restrain their behavior to accommodate to the situation, just as they readily follow the rules of games such as baseball or soccer (see Dewey, 1938, in particular chapter 4).[1] Thus, students do not merely learn *about* democracy; instead, their schooling *is* itself a democratic practice.

[1]It is only when rules are arbitrarily imposed that they become objectionable and elicit resistance

The Socratic Method

While Dewey emphasized the critical importance of student collaboration, he left largely to the imagination of the reader exactly how learning takes place through discussion and dialogue. In contrast, the Socratic dialogues, as reconstructed by Plato, illustrate in detail the actual activity of communal learning. They are dramas more than texts. That form of presentation is consistent with Socrates being a philosopher who did not write philosophy. As he explains (Plato, ed, 1963, in *Phaedrus*, 275d), it's not possible to converse with books. You can't ask them questions or explore undeveloped provisional thoughts. For Socrates, learning is always inquiry: He asks a question; the respondent answers by assertion; Socrates asks another question. The process continues as assertions are abandoned when shown to contradict themselves or yield obvious absurdities. Although Socrates is willing to converse with any person interested in engaging with him, whether publicly (see Plato, ed. 1963 in the *Apology*) or privately (e.g., in the *Symposium* and the *Republic*), certain conditions must be met to sustain the conversation as a genuine search for truth, that is, a truly authentic inquiry:

- Any interested person may participate, because anyone can be a learner.
- Each participant is equally responsible for sustaining and furthering the inquiry.
- Each participant must suppose that his or her ideas are not absolutely true and perhaps not true at all.
- Each participant must be willing to acknowledge his or her own ignorance.
- Each participant must suppose that the ideas of other participants might be true.
- Each participant must treat the other with respect and take his or her ideas seriously and as potentially valuable.
- By the same token, each participant must feel free to speak and to say what he or she really means. This freedom to speak one's mind, the Greeks called *parrhesia* (see Foucault, 2010, for extensive discussions of this concept).
- The participants must treat one another as both teacher and learner.
- The participants must consider the results of their inquiries as provisional (subject to correction and amplification) and yet consider the indefinitely prolonged activity of dialogical inquiry itself as something stably truthful, just, and precious.

With its emphasis on inquiry open to all, and its insistence that truth is the exclusive property of no one, the Socratic dialogue presents itself as a form of discourse ideally suited to a democratic society. It is learning as an egalitarian social contract.

Nonetheless, it must be noted that while ancient Athens considered itself democratic, in many ways, it was not. Women hardly had the same rights as male citizens; and a large portion of the population were slaves.[2] And just as Dewey's ideas contrasted with the dominant (and still dominant) form of hierarchical education (see, e.g., Dewey, 1938), so did Socratic practice contrast with an influential form of learning popular in Athens. It was offered by the Sophists, itinerant teachers who sought to deliver to their pupils the information and

[2]For a more detailed account, see Pomeroy, Burstein, Donlon, & Roberts, 1999, p. 233-244.

oratorical facility necessary for political and social success. Importantly, Socrates criticized sophistic education because it violated what he deemed to be the two principles essential for a flourishing human life: The unexamined life is not livable for human beings (Plato, ed. 1963, in the *Apology* 38d); and wisdom is knowing that one does not know (*Apology* 21d).

In many ways, these two principles are two sides of the same coin. If we do not take time to carefully articulate our conscious understandings or uncover our tacit beliefs, we are by definition ignorant – doubly so when we are not aware of our ignorance. And an ignorant person not only lacks wisdom but more importantly, also lacks any reason to learn more. For Socrates (and other philosophers who followed him), such a static life is essentially empty. Of course, the discovery of one's ignorance can lead to helpless passivity. Meno, for example, complains that he has been paralyzed by Socrates' logically entrapping questioning (Plato, ed. 1963, in *Meno*, 80a). It can also cause frustration and humiliation, which in turn can stimulate aggression, for example, Thrasymachus in the *Republic* (Plato, ed. 1963, 336b-e) and Anytus in the *Meno* (94e-95a).[3] However, if we can make our way between paralysis and anger to what Biesta calls a "middle ground" (2017, p. 13), the discovery of ignorance can inspire curiosity, energize further inquiry, and generate sustained dialogue.

In countless ways, such a striving for knowledge and truth is both useful and necessary for a thriving democracy. As Habermas astutely observed (1990), the dialogical interaction (which he calls "communicative action") is at the same time ethical and political. To start with, the dialogical relationship promotes and depends on an equality between the participants. All answers as well all questions must be taken seriously. It's the dialogical back and forth that matters as much as whatever provisional conclusion is reached. In this way, within the dialogical relationship, all persons are equal, with each one treating the other as a meaningful contributor. Similarly, in a democracy all are equal before the law, and, as Dewey emphasizes, it is the freedom to express one's unique voice and the discipline to listen to others that enables an inquiry to move forward.

The dialogical participants will naturally have different interests, dispositions, social statuses, classes, races, genders, sexual orientations, ethnicities, religions and other markers of cultural and personal identities. Therefore, it almost goes without saying that the participants will have ideas, beliefs, and opinions that differ from one another. It is not surprising then that many of the dialogues end inconclusively, such as in the *Meno* (Plato, ed. 1963, 100a-b), where the questions of what virtue is and whether it is knowable are left unsettled. In such instances, Socrates recommends that the discussion be continued, if for no other reason, he suggests, that doing so would promote civility (Plato, 100b; Herman, 2017). Interestingly, and related to the needs of a democratic society, the root of the word, "civility," comes from *civis*, the city. Comparably, the Greek root of the word "polite" is *polis*, which also means the city. Thus, as Davetian (2009, p. 9) explains, civility (and politeness too) refer to a way of living when citizens depend on each other in complex social networks, or, in other words, as in a democracy.

[3] Anytus will be one of the chief prosecutors at the trial of Socrates.

For Dewey (see in particular, 1916, chapter 26) the generation of new thinking and learning in the classroom and constructive living in the world are, in his words, forms of "morality."

When a dialogue does move toward a conclusion, an encounter with another person whose beliefs are different from or contrary to one's own encourages the original participants through the rules of dialogue to consider the possibility that the other's ideas might have something to contribute to one's own well-being. The dialogue requires that both participants take time to acknowledge more than one view of what each considers to be true and to open their minds to new perspectives. Thus, a dialogical society is a democratic society that calls its inhabitants, in recognizing their own ignorance, to know themselves. But why would a society that did *not* foster that virtue be unlivable? Simply put, a life unexamined would be driven entirely by desire and power where, as Shakespeare's Lear observed, "man's life would be cheap as beasts" (*King Lear*, 2005, IIiv423); and society would be, as Hobbes describes in *Leviathan* (1957, p. 190), a "war of every man against every man." A putatively democratic society significantly populated by such persons would be violent, chaotic and, as Plato astutely diagnosed, a society primed for tyranny (ed. 1963, *Republic*, 563d-569c).

Thus, we come around to the Jeffersonian claim that to avoid tyranny, a democratic polity requires an educated citizenry. For him, history was a key component of education to help citizens avoid the errors of the past. However, today, many stress the importance of studying civics (see, e.g., Callan, 1997). But for Socrates and Dewey, it was the practice of civics that was important: Citizens needed to become accustomed to, and skilled at, collaborative dialogues and self-examination. An active citizen in the early history of the United States, Benjamin Franklin, exhibits both those traits in a letter he wrote in 1787 in support of the original American *Constitution*:

> "I do not entirely approve of the *Constitution* at present, but I am not sure I shall never approve it, for having lived so long, I have experienced many instances of being obliged by better information or fuller consideration to change my opinions, even on important subjects, which I once thought right but found to be otherwise" (Franklin, 1954, p. 456).

In much more recent times, we were fortunate enough to participate as teachers in a public college that allowed, even encouraged its students to take up Franklin's form of self-improvement. Indeed, the college's somewhat unique design was commensurate with the practices and philosophy of both Socrates and Dewey.

Empire State College

In 1971, the State University of New York (SUNY) added a new college to its already large network of more than 60 community and four-year colleges and universities. Called "Empire State College" (ESC), the new institution attracted primarily working adults, although anyone who found traditional colleges

inaccessible for whatever reason was also welcome to apply. The College was not explicitly founded on the ideas of John Dewey or the paradigm of Socratic dialogue. Rather, borrowing somewhat from Goddard College in Vermont and the Open University (OU) in Great Britain, faculty and students sought to create practical ways of offering a college-level education where students could learn what was valuable to them and faculty could responsibly supervise, assist and evaluate their learning. Those activities and procedures they set in motion turned out to have much in common with the philosophical ideas (although certainly not all the practices) of Dewey and Socrates.

First of all, classrooms were abolished. The very practical reason was that older students with work and family responsibilities simply did not have the time or opportunity to fit into their lives the typical classroom schedules of traditional schools. Thus, it was understood from the start that students would have to do much of their learning in their own time and at a place of their choosing. To provide proper supervision and necessary assistance, each student was assigned a faculty mentor who kept in touch by meeting his or her student periodically in a mutually convenient location – much as was done with tutorials at the OU (as shown in the film, *Educating Rita* directed by Gilbert, 1983). To make such meetings viable, faculty offices were made available in more than 50 different locations throughout the State of New York so that students did not have very long distances to travel. Where personal circums-tances or physical location made even that travel impossible, a special division of "distance education" was soon established where students met and stayed in touch with their mentors or adjunct instructors (referred to as tutors) solely by phone, mail, and eventually email.

From the absence of classes, all else followed. It was now possible for each student to select their own course of studies – and each course could be, and often was, highly individualized. Even if the subject matter was not unique, the books and assignments could be decided upon together by the student and the mentor to follow a student's specific intellectual interest as well as to address his or her academic needs. Because so many of these early students were adults already successful in their careers, the College also set up a process by which academic credit could be awarded for knowledge they had already acquired on their own. Degrees could not be awarded unless the learners completed a coherent and academically defensible plan of study. This plan consisted of a list of courses already completed elsewhere plus those they intended to take at the College. They had to defend this program in a written essay by showing how it provided them with appropriate breadth overall, and significant depth in single subject area of their choice. If they chose a traditional subject, such as in psychology, business, design, literature, or mathematics**, t**hey had to explain how their plan included all courses normally expected in that area.

The absence of classes also made it possible for the College to allow considerable flexibility in the completion of whatever course of study a student might have chosen. While a 16-week term still remained, the College created ways of giving the student either more or less time as was needed.[4] Courses could be

[4]In essence, for any particular course, the student paid for a given number of credits and a certain amount of instructor attention per credit.

disciplinary, interdisciplinary or composed from topics of particular interest to the individual student. Resources could come from work and community activities, interviews with experts in the field, workshops, multi-media, articles and monographs. Textbooks were not needed to determine the structure and the content of the course; indeed, they were often used simply as back-up references. In the end, all that mattered was that college-level learning be accomplished, demonstrated, and carefully assessed.

Like the OU and other such institutions, ESC was intended from the outset to be non-elitist, especially evident in the custom of accepting every applicant who seemed capable of doing college-level learning. For the most part, the College gave applicants the benefit of the doubt when determining their readiness for academic study. Rather than entrance exams or letters of recommen-dation, the mentor met prospective students and often began, even then, to encourage them to share their prior learning experiences and future goals. Once enrolled, students would then be ready to work with a mentor in converting their educational aims and interests into actual courses of study. Even here, the flexibility of the College was useful. If, for example, after the first assignment, it turned out that the student had difficulty writing, the course could be easily altered so as to include more focus upon composition. So too could texts or other resources be changed, and even to some extent the course content. As long as academic quality remained high and no administrative rules broken, the mentor (not unlike the professor in the traditional classroom) was relatively unconstrained in deciding what students could learn.

As a result, it was the mentors who became the actual face of the College. As James Hall, the College's first president, described it:

> "These faculty mentors carry out a complex role more characteristic of the undergraduate teacher of 40 years ago before education became compartment-talized into sub-disciplinary specialists, counseling specialists, placement specialists, and student activities specialists. In the mentor role, these functions are brought back together again ... [and] is highly facilitative" (Hall, 1976, p. 99).

Thus, the success of the College depended heavily upon the quality of the mentor/student relationship. The mentor had to attend carefully to student needs, both academic and non-academic. The list of responsibilities included helping students to correctly identify courses of study appropriate in content and skill level; to select and locate appropriate learning resources, including qualified tutors; to design and process their degree plans; and to navigate the bureaucracy of the College. In addition, mentors had to support students when they were confronted with the myriad non-academic challenges often facing adult students: children who become sick, work demands that become overwhelming, or personal and financial crises that bring their lives to a standstill – all this without sacrificing academic integrity. As one colleague remarked, "A good mentor means listening to most anything while still setting firm boundaries about almost everything."

Socrates and Dewey at ESC

Clearly, the Socratic spirit can be found within or behind every conversation between mentor and student. Quite frequently, even before students enrolled, the first question they heard was "What do you want to learn?" And discussion of that question would naturally encompass questions of why and eventually questions about how. All answers were taken seriously. And inevitably counter-questions often required responses from the mentor in areas in which he or she was not expert. Thus, the mentor often had to acknowledge ignorance which, perhaps unintentionally, reflected the Socratic stance of "knowing that one does not know." In this case, both student and mentor engaged in a common inquiry to explicate the nature of the subject and to examine its suitability for the student's expressed needs and purposes. Such discussions always implied claims about fundamental values and purposes of living, which, with further inquiry, often became explicit. In other words, what began as a merely academically practical discussion about what is to be learned became a discussion of the relationship between learning and the purposes of one's life.[5] Almost effortlessly, it seems, conversations in this rather odd relationship exemplified in themselves how an examined life really does make life worth living.

The equality among participants so consonant with the Athenian democracy of Socrates' time was also very real in the mentor/student relationship in 20th century New York. We too, of course, live in a society in which equality is a predominant aspiration, but it acquired special meaning (and perhaps a fuller realization) at the College. First, many faculty mentors at ESC, having been teachers at other colleges, may have never before actually spent time listening to their students. Almost without exception, mentors were impressed by what their students had to say. As adults, many of the students had accomplishments in fields totally unfamiliar to the mentor – steel manufacturing, brewery operations, adoption services, sports coaching, to name a few. Secondly, the process of uncovering the student's needs and interests was almost by definition a fully collaborative endeavor. Both students and mentors became active learners engaged in dialogue with each other. That this equality was truly achieved was documented year after year at graduation ceremonies, where one or another faculty member called upon to congratulate the students repeatedly said – "while we are pleased at how much you were able to learn at this college, we want to take this opportunity to thank you for how much we were able to learn from you."

Dewey's goals were also easily embedded in the mentor/student relationship that not only promoted democratic equality but the space and freedom students needed to take charge of their own learning, or, as Dewey would put it, to be their own agents. Moreover, to the extent that the mentor/student dialogue took the inquiry model seriously – that is, it began with, included, and ended with questions of some sort – the student was forced to do much more than simply listen and agree. As Finkel (2015) notes, learning requires the students to doubt, deny, question, speculate, imagine – all this and more was able to take place during

[5]For other examples, see Daloz, 1999; Herman & Mandell, 2004; Mandell & Coulter, 2016.

meetings with their mentors. Instead of ingesting and regurgitating information isolated from their own experiences, students gained academic knowledge that actually made a difference in their lives. For them, knowing was not simply a matter of answering test questions correctly, but it involved investigating multiple perspectives, accepting doubt, and drawing tentative conclusions. Thus, students not only took ownership of their own learning, but they recognized that learning was never fully complete, that it was a life-long endeavor. Moreover, their thinking processes were expanded to accept provisionality and complexity – both critically important for living in a modern democratic society.

Another key Deweyan aim was to encourage diversity. To some extent this goal was realized in the mentoring sessions when, as was frequently the case, students brought up for discussion almost any new issue that concerned them at work, in the community, or even at home. In many instances, students would bring back the new ideas that emerged in discussion with their mentors to colleagues or family members. In other cases, behaviors or opinions expressed by others often provoked not only discussion between student and mentor, but they became the basis for subsequent courses. In the final analysis, however, the kind of "grown-up" disposition espoused by Biesta (2017) – the ability to adjust one's ideas in the presence of many other ideas – was explicitly realized only in those instances when students interacted with others as part of their coursework. Yet, from a larger perspective, diversity was magnificently achieved at the College in that students were able to follow their own individual interests, ask their own questions, take seriously their own ideas, and strengthen their own sense of themselves as learners. As a result, as ESC graduates engaged with the world around them, they represented through their individualized learning experiences the very diversity Dewey argued that a democratic society needed. Thus, collectively they fulfilled Dewey's ideal of a democratic society of people who can share and examine each other's different ideas as they try to solve contemporary problems in productive and peaceful ways.

The Demise of the Empire State College Mission

Although the College still exists today, it has morphed into a large academic institution that provides mostly ready– made and limited standardized curricula through online courses. The progressive, flexible, highly individualized courses of study – those centered on the dialogical relationship between student and mentor – prevailed more or less successfully only through the first 25 years of the college's nearly 50– year history. A number of factors seem to have been responsible for inducing the College to revert to more academically traditional policies and practices. Although certainly there were strong outside pressures, many of the immediate factors also had to do with the human constituents and the ways in which both individualized and dialogical education challenged students, faculty, and administrators.

Students

The student body at Empire State College consisted mainly of adults (on average around 38 years of age) who were understandably attracted to a college that did not have a campus or regularly scheduled week-day classes. As adults, however, the majority were already pre-occupied with other important and time-consuming commitments, such as fulfilling family, work, and community responsibilities. Many also entered college expecting to be told what to do and to follow directions as expeditiously as possible. The reasons they sought a college degree varied considerably, but the vast majority shared the same desire to finish their education as quickly as possible. Thus, being invited into an intensely collaborative educational relationship with faculty, one where they were asked to participate in deeply examining their goals, designing their own curricula, and choosing appropriate learning activities, while also being expected to diligently examine and reflect upon each course of study – all this, though exhilarating, was often overwhelming. Good mentors were able to excite and engage students in their studies, but in the long run, for busy adults, such an education seemed to require much more time and effort than simply being told up front what was required. As online educational technology became increasingly available, students were attracted by a much simpler enterprise – working with any available computer at any time and any place on standardized courses in the virtual company of other students. Moreover, in that setting they could easily figure out on their own the least amount of work they had to do to pass a given course without engaging the subject as deeply as their mentors might have hoped. And, if students wanted to transfer to another college or go on to graduate school, they no longer had the burden of trying to explain an unusual and nontraditional learning experience to people accustomed to a very different form of education.

Faculty

From the beginning, there were always a significant number of faculty members who were unsympathetic to the College's original view of education. Some strongly objected in principle to the idea of individualized courses. Others believed that in giving weight to student interests and goals, their studies would lead to weak and sloppy academic outcomes. Even more worrisome, if the students had not completed a standardized curriculum, they might be unprepared to meet the standards of graduate school or advanced professional study. This led a number of faculty to be concerned about the College's reputation, particularly when students were able to receive college credit for work done entirely outside the academy. In terms of their lives as teachers, faculty also began to object to the workload. Just as at other SUNY and reputable private colleges, ESC faculty were expected, and in many instances deeply wanted, to engage in significant scholarship. Yet, mentoring and the continuous co-development of high-quality individualized studies also required considerable time and effort. Even faculty most devoted to the College's mission began to take shortcuts. For example, they started writing more highly prescriptive learning plans, which they frequently

found reason to use more than once. And in meetings with students, the mentors found it easier to ask fewer questions and to deliver more of their own ideas in small-scale expositions. As time went on, individualized mentoring, faculty scholarship, and the considerable amount of institutional service the college demanded became unsustainable for many faculty. Monitoring large numbers of students, each learning in their own ways and for their own reasons, began to be seen as uselessly inefficient. As one colleague put it, "Who has time for this? Why spend 15 minutes letting a student discover something we can tell her in 2 seconds?"

Administration

The people who managed the academic affairs of the College – departmental chairs, deans and assistant deans, vice-presidents, the provost and president – became increasingly distant from and uninvolved in educational activities. They had budgets to meet and certain goals to achieve (e.g., recruitment and retention, productive graduation rates, alumni contacts, grants and donations) that funded the costs of operating the institution, paying its personnel, and sustaining and improving its infrastructure. Moreover, the administrators, who answered to and served at the pleasure of the State University's Chancellor, were expected to conform to policies common to the entire network of colleges in the state university system. As economic considerations subordinated other concerns, colleges and universities across the nation, including ESC, increasingly bought into the business metaphor for education.[6] Students (sometimes now called "customers") paid for the opportunity to earn degrees if they produced the required, standardized, and measurable learning outcomes. Clearly, ESC's individualized approach was a significant outlier within that model; and its administrators became increasingly unable to explain or defend the school, much less find an easy way to make it fit within a view of education as a modern-day industry. Moreover, administrators at other institutions regarded the flexibilities ESC offered its students as academically suspect. And within ESC itself, administrators and their staff saw those flexibilities as unnecessarily inconvenient for record keeping and external reporting. In all, ESC administration, isolated in large part from the faculty and students, gradually saw less and less reason to defend the idiosyncratic features of ESC to the outside world. Therefore, inside the College, the administration created policies that made it harder and harder for faculty who still supported the original conception of the College to resist pressures to become more prescriptive and traditional.

The Fragility of Deweyan and Dialogical Education

It is indeed dispiriting to acknowledge that our experience at Empire State College is not an isolated illustration of the inability of progressive schools and dialogical education to endure. The University of Chicago Laboratory School in its

[6]For a recent exposition of this change from 1975 to 2000, see Gumport, 2019.

original format under Dewey's direction, had an even shorter life than did ESC. Although the school still exists today, it is no longer a Deweyan or dialogical experiment based on freedom and equality (Jackson, 1990). Also, we cannot forget that Socrates was put on trial, found guilty and put to death for his free and egalitarian manner of inquiry and for his refusal to give it up.[7] Of course, while small progressive schools can still be found across the world (e.g., the Round Square Schools), what now dominates the field of education today is the autocratic model. As Biesta (2017) puts it, "those who have an interest in teaching are not really interested in the freedom of the student" (p. 97). Freedom is something students are supposed to experience and deal with outside the school walls.

Why is this the case? Why was Socrates so violently renounced? And, as Jackson (1990, p. x) asks, "Why hasn't Dewey's influence as an educator been as widespread and enduring as he and others had hoped it would be?" In particular, what were the human dispositions that stood in the way? We identify and will discuss three that seem especially cogent to us: the demand for efficiency; the difficulty of self-knowledge; and the lure of power.

The Demand for Efficiency

As noted in the ESC case study, universities and colleges today increasingly regard themselves as businesses so as to compete in a modern economy. Along with productivity, efficiency becomes a primary goal. To keep costs low and to save time, products and services must be standardized. With student graduates as products, differences in student ability, interests, and goals are seen as obstacles to be managed rather than qualities to be welcomed. Moreover, when the processes of developing, documenting, and assessing the learning from individual courses of study is seen as unacceptably inefficient, standardization of course content becomes an imperative. From a business point of view, standardization is especially attractive when, as is the case today, readily available pre-designed courses are globally accessible through online course management systems. Also, instead of allowing students to create their own areas of specialization, it is far easier for universities to offer a finite set of ready-made options selected in advance in response to market demand or to match faculty expertise.

In this environment, perhaps it is not surprising that faculty and students too are attracted to efficiency; in the United States, for example, "wasting time" is considered a violation of a productive and moral life.[8] Yet speed is not an appropriate measure of learning that consists of discovering, comprehending, and advancing previously unknown information and ideas. Instead, what matters is the extent to which the learners' minds are opened or transformed. Moreover, while we might view learning as an individual act, in truth it is not. Humans are social animals. Our very existence – our physical survival– depends on others; and advances in knowledge depend upon building upon what others have learned and

[7]How ironic that Athens punished him for practicing a form of education seemingly so in keeping with the city's democracy.

[8]The classic discussion of this idea is Weber's *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, 1905/2002.

discovered. Because so many variables go into the make-up of an individual person, it makes practical sense that people be able to share and continually reconsider their different points of view in seeking solutions to problems and a better understanding of life. But "saving time" is irrelevant to the success of that process. If people are in a hurry and let saving time become the driving force in the learning situation, an education that depends upon collaboration, discussion, reflection, and thought will necessarily be degraded. A demand for efficiency reduces freedom of choice, diversity of outcome, the attractiveness of collaboration, and the quality of the very learning processes Deweyan, Socratic, and other forms of democratic education promote.

The Difficulty of Self-knowledge

Related to lack of efficiency, objections were often raised at ESC about the amount of intellectual effort that mentoring and individualization involved. Dewey's school too was seen to demand too much of the teachers (Schwab, 1978, as cited in Jackson, 1990, p. xi). ESC's students also seemed to feel that while personalized learning was engaging and worthwhile, an information delivery system was much easier to manage in terms of time and effort. Of course, for the older adult students at ESC, time *was* a precious commodity, unlike the case with younger students such as those at Dewey's school. But one still has to ask what exactly was requiring so much time and effort here? On the face of it, why would a school that requires one to own up to one's ignorance and engage in self-examination be seen as asking too much of its students and teachers?

One answer is that humans are pre-disposed to draw conclusions as quickly as possible, usually without the assistance of conscious thought (see, e.g., Coulter, 2002). It is easy to see why this might be a biological necessity, but it is not helpful in facing situations that are highly complex, as in today's developed world (see, e.g., Kegan, 1994). Self-knowledge, logical thinking, the search for corroboration, all require one to stop – to disrupt the flow of the normal busy-ness of living – in order to entertain a "state of doubt" (Dewey, 1910, p. 13). As Dewey describes it, "Reflective thinking is always more or less troublesome because it involves…willingness to endure a condition of mental unrest and disturbance… [which] is likely to be somewhat painful" (p. 13). As long as life seems to be going smoothly, we have no motivation to reflect upon our existing state and consider new directions. To actually change direction requires discontent with one's current condition, unexpected turns of events, and/or unmet needs (see, e.g., Mezirow, 1978, and MacKeracher, 2012). Thus, responding to this, or any, unsettled state clearly requires additional time and effort. Even then, it is the rare individual willing to take the time to look inward for explanations and solutions, or to remember (from our high school years) that:

> "The fault, dear Brutus is not in our stars,
> But in ourselves, that we are underlings."
> (Shakespeare, 2005, *Julius Caesar*, Iii141-142)

And those individuals inclined to self-examination often feel so inadequate to the task that, if they can afford it, they seek help from therapists. As a result, for

most of us, the easiest and most immediate reaction to life disruptions is to look elsewhere than in ourselves for causes and remedies and to accept the first explanation that comes to mind.

But what about the other condition Socrates emphasized – the importance of recognizing one's own ignorance? Ignore *that*, and one is acting as though one need not learn anything more at all – a supposition flawed with both hubris and absurdity. However, honest acknowledgement of ignorance cannot take place unless one is able to stop and hold those first thoughts in abeyance until they are further examined for hidden errors, assumptions and biases. As Dewey suggests (and see also again Kegan, 1994), the change in perspective this kind of reflection requires is intellectually hard work. The Socratic dialogues illustrate how, even as one contributes to the conversation, one still must intellectually and imaginatively remove oneself from the particular values of one's personal, familial, cultural, economic, and professional contexts – nearly all the qualities that define one's self in the world. Understandably, this surrender of self, even temporarily, is difficult to achieve and sustain, much less to appreciate.

The Lure of Power

That surrender of self is not just difficult, time-consuming work. It is also frightening, because one leaves oneself unguarded and open to attack. Adding to the biological imperatives that already render the conditions of education in freedom so fragile is the compelling need to be in control of one's circums-tances. But one's "circumstances" are endless and incessant so long as one is alive; thus, the effort to achieve control becomes boundless. It becomes the lure of power.

This lure is a persistent theme in the history of western civilization. It is so ubiquitous that some believe it to be an elementary human characteristic. Freud, for example, speculated that the desire for control is as basic an appetite as lust (1920/1953, p. 36). Relevant to education, this desire for power and control demands that we be fully informed. As we so often hear, knowledge is power. Witness Adam and Eve who eat the forbidden fruit of tree of knowledge. Thus, they learn of good and evil, knowledge so powerful it infuriates a jealous God (*Genesis,* 2019, chapter 3). Similarly, Goethe's Mephistopheles (1949) success-fully tempts Faust with the promise of knowing all things and thus of having the power to control them. And in modern times, we find scientists promising to achieve a "theory of everything," whereby all the phenomena of the universe are explained (Hawking, 1988; see also Hawking & Mlodinow, 2010). Such a theory, even if it were merely taken to be provisionally true, would almost certainly be intelligible only to a few people, leaving the vast majority of us subject to their expert pronouncements and potent inventions.

Moreover, in the traditional academic world, potency is implied in some of the words used for teachers: We are "professors" (those who profess); we are "schoolmasters" (masters of both students and the places they learn); we are "educators" (those who "lead out" others from ignorance to knowledge). The status difference between teacher and student is sharply defined and defended. "Faculty" (the word itself, a synonym for "potency" and "capability") submit their writings

for "peer review"; but student papers and tests are graded only by teachers or teaching assistants. Faculty engage in "scholarship"; students are assigned research topics. When the distinction between teacher and student is so strong, there is no question about where all the authority lies and about which position is the more desirable. No wonder teachers find the role of autocrat very easy to assume.

A seemingly paradoxical but necessary corollary to the desire for control is the desire to submit – a desire as dangerous as its opposite. Not only do masters need slaves, as Hegel demonstrates (1967, p. 234-243), but followers can experience deep satisfaction in submitting to the will of a charismatic or august leader. As Dostoevsky's Grand Inquisitor in *The Brothers Karamazov* explains, people crave not freedom, but "miracle, mystery and authority" (2002, p. 255). A good 20th century American example is Robert Penn Warren's Pulitzer Prize novel, *All the King's Men* (1946). And we see real life-examples today of this inclination to obey in the popularity of the "strongman" style leader in the United States and other constitutionally democratic nations. This inclination seems to spring from a sense of identification with the ruler that followers experience as they submit (see Adorno *et al*., 1950). So too do students find it easy, even comforting, to do what they are told by educators whom they admire.

What Is To Be Done?

It may be, as Jefferson advocated, that an educated citizenry is necessary for democracy to thrive. But if educational institutions primarily value efficiency, avoid the hard work of critical self-examination, promote knowledge as power, and maintain the traditional academic hierarchy of authoritative professors and submissive students, how can education offered by such colleges and universities preserve democracy? If, as we have argued, a truly democratic society must find a way to offer an education that allows students to learn in freedom, then obviously our highly autocratic forms of education must change. Given the various human dispositions that seem to undercut more democratic forms of education, is there any way that we, as individual scholars and teachers, can find ways of resisting the call for efficiency, restraining our attraction to power and control, and admitting to the limits of our intelligence? It may be beyond our collective abilities to substantially affect the external forces that are promoting autocracy and changing our universities into social industries rather than democratic greenhouses for individuals. But we believe that as educators, we do have the ability to change our own beliefs and behaviors and, in our individual classrooms, the freedom to implement new, democratic, and growth-inducing ways of teaching.

In terms of personal development, we teachers must be willing to engage in serious self-examination. Often we hold conscious beliefs that contradict those created from prior experience, unexamined societal expectations, and tradition. Observation and research have shown that these tacit beliefs can sway, modify, and undermine what we may rationally determine to be true (see, e.g., Argyris, 1980; 1991). Until we uncover and acknowledge this conflict, our unconscious habits of thought get the better of our good intensions. Only when tacit beliefs are uncovered in a Socratic fashion can they be further examined and rendered open to

change. It is this process, so similar to that of psychoanalytic therapy, that will allow the teacher to take up new approaches in the classroom that won't be undermined by unrecognized contrary beliefs.

Consonant with the freedom we advocate for students, teachers too, once they decide to change, should be free to explore and develop their own individualized ways of helping students learn. Although we have presented two coherent education models from ancient and modern history, many other scholars also advocate for more student freedom in formal education (see e.g., Langer, 1993; Mezirow, 2003; Paley, 1992; and Rogers, 1969; 1983). For a more recent example, a new teaching innovation is the "flipped classroom" (Reidsema, Kavanagh, Hadgraft, & Smith, 2017) where students are expected to study texts and videos on their own and then spend class time solely on examining and discussing what they have learned. Collins & Halverson (2018) offer numerous suggestions for using digital technology, not to standardize courses, but to make it easier for students to work collaboratively with others and to think for themselves. These sources, plus the philosophical underpinnings provided by Dewey and Socrates, may inspire teachers to reconsider the impact of lectures, standardized tests, and memorization on students who live in democratic societies. If so, is it too much to hope that we may then learn how to give our students more space to explore new ideas in their own ways, to accept doubt, uncertainty, and provisional solutions, to listen to and work productively with their colleagues? If we teachers can show ourselves to our students as uncertain, as able to relinquish control, as willing to forego efficiency for open-ended inquiry, will it be enough to help our students discover the freedom they experience to be worth the time and effort it demands – and worth more than the simple answers autocracy promises?

Even in the absence of ready answers to these questions, we do believe that change is possible. Consider, for example, Benjamin Franklin's life-long efforts at self-development, and that Dewey's Lab School and Empire State College were invented in the first place and did operate successfully for a period of time If we ourselves become the kind of learners and innovators in our classrooms that we hope our students will be, it is reasonable to hope that these students will carry on as citizens: alert, able, and willing to keep our democracies alive and vibrant. After all, regardless of their destructive dispositions, humans flourish when they are free to be curious and inventive (see Phelps, 2013). Thus, no matter that we cannot be sure of the outcome, our educational practices should nonetheless reflect this freedom, thoroughly and always.

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Differences in Graduation and Persistence Rates over Time for African-American Students at Texas 4-Year Universities

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In this study, the graduation and persistence rates of African-American students at Texas 4-year universities were examined for the 2003-2004 academic year, the 2009-2010 academic year, and the 2014-2015 academic year. Of specific interest was whether the graduation and persistence rates for African-American students changed over an 11-year time period in Texas, from 2003-2004 to 2014-2015. Inferential statistical analyses did not reveal the presence of any statistically significant differences in the 1-year graduation and persistence rates of African-American students over the 11-year time period that were investigated. The 1-year graduation and persistence rates were stable, ranging only from 53% to 56%, over this 11-year time period. Suggestions for policy and for practice, as well as recommendations for future research, were mentioned.

Keywords: African-American, 4-year universities, graduation and persistence rates, interactive accountability system, 1-year persistence rates, Texas.

Introduction

Institutions of higher education are regularly in search of new ways to attract and maintain a diverse student body comprised of people from different ethnicities/races, backgrounds, and beliefs to heighten the college environment at their institutions. A particular group of students, that colleges and universities have had a challenging time to attracting, retaining, and cultivating are African-American students. Moss and Slate (2017) discovered that student enrollment at 4-year institutions increased by 65% between 1992 and 2012. Aud et al. (2011) revealed that the African-American student post baccalaureate enrollment revolved between 10% and 12% from 1976 to 2000, and in 2009 around 15%. Weddle-West and Bingham (2010) determined that African-American students have poorer completion rates compared to their White peers in their degree attainment rates, as only 50% of all students who enroll in a postsecondary institution earn a degree. It is important for African-American students and students of any race/ethnicity to be able to obtain a college degree, as each college graduate can expect lifetime earnings at least two times more than people with only a high school diploma (Carnevale Rose & Cheah, 2011). To add to the increased need for people in today's society to earn higher education degrees,

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Duncan (2010) stated that throughout the last 40 years, the percentage of occupations in the United States calling for postsecondary degrees has expanded by twice as much.

Before going to college, both African-Americans and Hispanics have faced financial, societal, and cultural issues that have posed challenges, for a large amount at least, pertaining to their approach to and commitment to higher education (Laird et al., 2007). Baum, Ma and Payea (2013) concluded that African American students at 43% were the ethnic group with the highest college drop-out rates compared to other ethnic/racial groups of students. It is possible that African-American students who attend Predominantly White Institutions do not have a sense of belonging to the campus nor have the appropriate resources to be successful, which can be two factors that leads to them dropping out of college (Hunn, 2014). Predominantly White Institutions or PWIs are colleges with student bodies made up mostly of Whites with smaller amounts of other students of different ethnic/racial groups. Historically Black Colleges and Universities or HBCUs are colleges that were founded for the purpose of primarily serving the African-American community prior to the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Researchers (Harper et al., 2004) contended that Historically Black Colleges and Universities have a larger variety of culturally attractive settings for African-American students to participate within the college community. Some researchers (e.g., Bohr, Pascarella, Nora, & Terenzini, 1995; Chen, Ingram, & Davis, 2014; Kim, 2002; Seifert, Drummond, & Pascarella, 2006; Strayhorn & DeVita, 2010) have suggested however, that African-American students' academic success and gratification with their institution of higher education is contingent on how supportive and inclusive the atmosphere of the campus is toward them, despite it being a HBCU or PWI.

In previous studies pertaining to underrepresented student retention, researchers (Davis, 1994; Simmons, 2017; Strayhorn, 2008) suggested that university's campus culture and environment are major influences of how successful underrepresented students are academically and engage socially at their university. Predominantly White Institutions must create supportive places and spaces for African-American students to feel as if they matter and are welcomed. The aim should be to foster similar foundations of support they would experience attending a HBCU, so students should not be able to tell the differences in the support they receive in acclimating to the campus culture. Creating a campus climate that is all encompassing for their students regardless of their ethnicity/race to support African-American students' success fully should be an important goal for all institutions higher education, not only a goal on which HBCUs should focus on achieving.

Roper (2008) identified that African-American students are greatly affected by college tuition being increased due to many of them coming from low-income families. According to Roper (2008), the average wages for White families in the U.S. was $60,310, $36,075 for African-American families, and $37,387 for Hispanic families. Gardenhire and Cerna (2016) identified that having positive mentors is another barrier that African-American male students sometimes have a difficult time locating on their college campus and the community in which they

grew up in. Gardenhire and Cerna (2016) stated that mentoring has the capacity to offer African-American male students with steady support and direction essential to be successful in college; however the authors were clear to acknowledge that it is complicated for colleges to supply this type of assistance. Key aspects identified that are vital to providing a valuable mentorship program involve a good match between mentor and mentee, thorough preparation of mentors, and continuousness contact by the mentor to the mentee. Recommendations made by researchers (Brooms, Goodman, & Clark, 2015; Laird et al., 2007; Wiggan, 2007; Yearwood & Jones, 2012) on ways institutions of higher education in general can create atmospheres inside and outside of the classroom for African-American students to engage and persist are: (a) proactive academic advisors and mentors; (b) requesting input from the student body on university policies and campus amenities; (c) having diverse faculty and staff; (d) engaging pedagogy being delivered inside the classroom; (e) enhancement of extracurricular activities, and (f) scholarships to aid students from low-income families.

Institutions of higher education must fully commit to implementing the aforementioned recommendations throughout all levels of leadership at their institutions and make it an engrained mission of the university. University administration cannot rely on faculty and staff diversity committees to host meetings and sponsor sporadic events hoping it will result in minorities at their institutions feeling welcomed and supported by the university (Kuh et al., 2006). All administrators, faculty, staff, and students must genuinely make a concerted effort to make every person at or visitor to their institution regardless of their race, faith, and so on feel as if they belong, are respected, and that the university community is willing to assist them be successful inside and outside of the classroom (Berman, Chaffee, & Sarmiento, 2018; Milem, Chang, & Antonio, 2005).

Concepts

Various policies have been passed and groundbreaking impacts on our society were made by the things such the Civil Rights movement that established the ability for minorities and other underrepresented groups of people to attend college to make sufficient salaries to improve the lives and futures of their families (Ogbu & Simons, 1998). People aiming to improve their financial and societal place in the world must realize that a simple high school diploma is not suitable as it may have been 20 to 30 years ago. Swail et al. (2003) stated,

> Given that the U.S. will become significantly "less White" over the course of the next 50 years, issues of color cannot be ignored. California is already a "majority-minority" state, but its flagship public institutions of higher education have embarrassing low participation rates among African-American and Hispanic students. Texas, Florida, and several other states host similar problems. (p. 6)

Granted, entrance into college has improved, however other concerns have arisen. I n recent years, admission and retention statistics of underrepresented

students have worsened (Beyer et al., 2014). Some parents and high school graduates wonder if institutions of higher education are truly providing the necessary resources required for all students, no matter their ethnicity, to persevere to obtain college degrees (Allen et al., 2008). In addition, colleges and universities boast about having diverse campuses and establishing inclusive atmospheres however, underrepresented college student success rates indicate that large percentages of students of color are not graduating from their institutions. In the past, the need for students of color to be successful in college and in the world, many times were overlooked. However, over time the population of the United States is becoming less White dominant. As such, the underachieving of students of color can no longer be overlooked (Swail et al., 2003).

Significance of the Study

A substantial number of researchers (e.g., Aud et al., 2011; Ballinger & Slate, 2017; Chen et al., 2014; Hunn, 2014; Weddle-West & Bingham, 2010) have mentioned that African-American students do not perform as well academically as their White peers and the direct relationship between academic success and the appropriate resources and campus atmosphere needed for students to be successful in higher education. In addition, an adequate amount of research exists regarding factors regarding the persistence of African-American students. Limited research exists primarily on the graduation and persistence rates of African-American students over time in a particular region or state in America. Moss and Slate (2017) investigated the 1-year persistence rates by institutional enrollment status for African-American students enrolled in Texas community colleges for the 2007-2008 through 2013-2014 academic years. Moss and Slate (2017) established that 1-year persistence rates by institutional enrollment status were better for African-American students who remained at the same Texas community college than for African-American students who transferred to another community college in Texas. The results from this study may provide important information for educational leaders at Texas 4-year universities regarding their efforts in improving the graduation and persistence rates of their African-American students over time.

Purpose of the Study

The purposes of this study were threefold. The first purpose was to determine the degree to which 1-year graduation and persistence rates differed for African-American students enrolled at Texas 4-year public universities in the 2003-2004 through the 2009-2010 academic years. The second purpose was to investigate the degree to which differences were present in the 1-year graduation and persistence rates differed for African-American students enrolled at Texas 4-year public universities in the 2009-2010 to the 2014-2015 academic years. The third purpose was to examine if 1-year graduation and persistence rates differed for African-

American students enrolled at Texas 4-year public universities in the 2003-2004 to the 2014-2015 academic years. By examining multiple years of statistics for each of the Texas 4-year public universities, any trends that existed in the 1-year graduation and persistence rates for African-American students enrolled at Texas 4-year public universities over an 11-year time period were ascertained.

Research Questions

The following research questions were addressed in this investigation: (a) What is the difference in the graduation and persistence rates of African-American students at Texas 4-year universities between the 2003-2004 academic year and the 2009-2010 academic years?; (b) What is the difference in the graduation and persistence rates of African-American students at Texas 4-year universities between the 2009-2010 academic year and the 2014-2015 academic years?; and (c) What is the difference in the graduation and persistence rates of African-American students at Texas 4-year universities between the 2003-2004 academic year and the 2014-2015 academic years?

Method

Research Design

In this study a non-experimental, causal-comparative research design was utilized (Creswell, 2013). For this multiyear examination, archival data from the Texas Higher Education Coordinating Board were obtained and analyzed. The independent variable and the dependent variables previously happened. The independent variable in this study was the academic years of 2003-2004, 2009-2010, and 2014-2015. The dependent variables were the 1-year graduation and persistence rates of African-American students enrolled in Texas 4-year public universities. Utilization of archival data in this context established a causal comparative research design (Creswell, 2013).

Participants and Instrumentation

The archival data for this study were obtained from the Texas Higher Education Coordinating Board Interactive Accountability System database. The Texas Higher Education Coordinating Board encourages entry to and achievement in quality higher education throughout the state of Texas (Texas Higher Education Coordinating Board, 2016b). The Texas Higher Education Coordinating Board Interactive Accountability System is an openly available archive that follows the performance of vital assessments that embody the objectives of institutions of higher education (Texas Higher Education Coordinating Board, 2016a). Existing data on the website were retrieved and saved using Microsoft Excel and then recoded into SPSS format for statistical examination. African-American students

attending 4-year Texas public universities in Texas were the participants who were enrolled during the 2003-2004, 2009-2010, and the 2014-2015 academic years.

Each of these 4-year universities is mandated by the Texas Higher Education Coordinating Board to report the 1-year graduation and persistence rates, containing with other information, of students by ethnic group/race. Data turned in are then accumulated by the Texas Higher Education Coordinating Board and made openly accessible at the Texas Higher Education Coordinating Board Interactive Accountability System. The databases utilized for this investigation was the Texas Higher Education Coordinating Board Interactive Accountability archive. The Texas Higher Education Coordinating Board upholds a massive archive encompassing statistics for every 4-year university in Texas. Contained within these statistics are graduation and persistence rates of African-American students. In the 2003-2004 academic year, 30 Texas 4-year universities supplied statistics. For the 2009-2010 academic year, 30 Texas 4-year universities supplied statistics. Finally, during the 2014-2015 academic year, statistics were available from 31 Texas 4-year universities.

Results

Before performing inferential statistics to ascertain if differences existed in the 1-year graduation and persistence rates of African-American students attending Texas 4-year universities, the standardized skewness coefficients (i.e. the skewness value divided by the standard error of skewness) and the standardized kurtosis coefficients (i.e., the kurtosis value divided by the standard error of kurtosis) were calculated. Because the dependent variable, graduation and persistence rates, was a continuous variable, and due to the independent variable representing the academic years of data that were evaluated, the second and third assumptions for a parametric dependent samples *t*-test were met; for that reason, a parametric dependent samples *t*-test was performed for research questions one, two, and three (Onwuegbuzie & Daniel, 2002).

A parametric dependent samples *t*-test did not reveal a statistically significant difference in the graduation and persistence rates, $t(29) = -0.21$, $p = .84$, between the 2003-2004 academic year and the 2009-2010 academic years. The graduation and persistence rates were in the mid-50s range for African-American students who attended Texas 4-year universities in the 2003-2004 academic year and in the 2009-2010 academic year. Over this 6-year time period, the graduation and persistence rates of African-American students remained stable at slightly over 50%. Readers are directed to Table 1 for the descriptive statistics for this analysis.

Table 1. Descriptive Statistics for Graduation and Persistence Rates of African-American Student Enrolled at Texas 4-Year Universities during the 2003-2004 and 2009-2010 Academic Years

Academic Year	***n* of 4-Year Universities**	***M%***	***SD%***
2003-2004	30	55.49	19.52
2009-2010	30	55.89	21.59

Regarding the 2009-2010 and the 2014-2015 academic years, the parametric dependent samples *t*-test did not yield a statistically significant difference in the graduation and persistence rates, $t(30) = -0.80$, $p = .43$, of African-American at 4-year Texas universities. The 1-year graduation and persistence rates were in the low to mid-50s range for African-American students who attended Texas 4-year universities in the 2009-2010 academic year and in the 2014-2015 academic year. Table 2 contains the descriptive statistics for this examination.

Table 2. Descriptive Statistics for Graduation and Persistence Rates of African-American Student Enrolled at Texas 4-Year Universities during the 2009-2010 and 2014-2015 Academic Years

Academic Year	***n* of 4-Year Universities**	***M%***	***SD%***
2009-2010	31	52.69	20.28
2014-2015	31	55.91	16.80

With respect to the 2003-2004 and the 2014-2015 academic years, the parametric dependent samples *t*-test did not reveal a statistically significant difference in the 1-year persistence rates, $t(29) = 0.30$, $p = .76$, among African-American students' graduation and persistence rates at 4-year Texas universities. The 1-year graduation and persistence rates were the mid-50s range for African-American students who attended Texas 4-year universities in the 2003-2004 academic year and in the 2014-2015 academic year. Revealed in Table 3 are the descriptive statistics for this assessment.

Table 3. Descriptive Statistics for Graduation and Persistence Rates of African-American Student Enrolled at Texas 4-Year Universities during the 2003-2004 and 2014-2015 Academic Years

Academic Year	***n* of 4-Year Universities**	***M%***	***SD%***
2003-2004	30	55.49	19.52
2014-2015	30	54.45	14.93

Discussion

In this examination, the degree to which differences were present in the 1-year graduation and persistence rates for three academic years for African-American students enrolled at Texas 4-year universities was assessed. Three different academic years of data from the Texas Higher Education Coordinating Board Interactive Accountability System were attained and assessed to ascertain if differences were present in 1-year graduation and persistence rates of African-

American students attending Texas 4-year universities. For the three years of academic data that were analyzed, statistically significant differences were not present. The 1-year graduation and persistence rates of African-American students who attended Texas 4-year universities were remarkably stable over time as they ranged from a low of 53% to a high of 56%.

Connections with the Existing Literature

Within this multiyear, statewide examination, the 1-year graduation and persistence rates of African-American students attending Texas 4-year universities were not statistically significantly higher when comparing African-American student enrolled at Texas 4-year universities five to 10 years apart. These results were compatible with Moss and Slate's (2017) results on the 1-year persistence rates of African-American community college students in Texas during the 2011-2012 and 2012-2013 academic years and Ballinger and Slate (2017) who also investigated 1-year persistence rates at Texas 4-year public universities. Population projections reflect that the numbers of underrepresented high school graduates will continue to increase in the future (Swail, Reed, & Perna, 2003). Sadly, as demonstrated in this study and in present research (Aud et al., 2011; Baum et al., 2013; Moss & Slate, 2015), graduation and persistence rates have been unsatisfactory for a very long period of time for African-American students.

Implications for Policy and for Practice

Formed on the outcomes of this multiyear analysis, numerous implications exist for policy and for practice. To understand how to attract and maintain African-American students at Texas 4-year universities and state universities in general, research can be completed regarding HBCUs recruit and nurture their students. Researchers (e.g., Harper et al., 2004) concluded from their completed research that HBCUs have a broader range of culturally attractive settings for African-American students to participate within the college community. Several researchers (e.g., Bohr et al., 1995; Chen et al., 2014; Kim, 2002; Seifert et al., 2006; Strayhorn & DeVita, 2010) have pointed out however, that African-American students' academic success and gratification with their institution of higher education is contingent on how supportive and inclusive the atmosphere of the campus is towards them despite it being a Historically Black College and University or Predominantly White Institution.

Recommendations made by previous researchers on ways institutions of higher education in general can create atmospheres inside and outside of the classroom for African-American students to engage and persist are: (a) proactive academic advisors and mentors; (b) requesting input from the student body on university policies and campus amenities; (c) having diverse faculty and staff; (d) engaging pedagogy being delivered inside the classroom; (e) enhancement of extracurricular activities, and (f) scholarships to aid students from low-income families (Brooms, Goodman, & Clark, 2015; Laird et al., 2007; Wiggan, 2008; Yearwood & Jones, 2012).

African-American students must have supportive social and support systems, particularly at Predominantly White Institutions. Student organizations such as culturally based organizations, Greek organizations, honors societies, and other common interest student organizations can be an important support system for African-American students (Allen, 1992; Doan, 2011; Guiffrida, 2003; Harper, 2007; Simmons, 2017). Black Greek organizations hold their members to high standards such as GPA minimum requirements, leadership training, mandatory community service and philanthropy projects, hosting activities and events for the African-American community at the university, along with being urged to be a positive example for other African-American students at the university (Harper, 2007; Harper & Harris, 2006; Harper & Quaye, 2007; Hughey, 2007; Pascarella et al., 1996).

The confidence and skills which African-American students and other students of color gain from membership in student organizations give them the coping skills and motivation to be successful in school to go on and be productive in life. Engstrom and Tinto (2008) stated that, "Access without support is not opportunity" (p. 10). It is in the spirit of his statement and the fact that the United States will only continue to grow to be more diverse that institutions of higher education should do all in their power increase access to and buildup retention amid at-risk underrepresented student populaces.

Conclusion

In this quantitative study, the 1-year graduation and persistence rates of African-American students at Texas 4-year public universities were assessed. As a result, numerous suggestions can be formed for future investigations. Foremost, investigators are urged to extend this study to other states to ascertain the degree to which our results might be generalizable to other states. Next, investigators are encouraged to assess 1-year graduation and persistence rates for other ethnic/racial groups of students (e.g., Asian, White, Hispanic). Another recommendation for future research would be to ascertain whether differences are present for underrepresented students by their gender with respect to their 1-year graduation and persistence rates. Further, investigators are urged to analyze to analyze their 1-year persistence rates of English Language Learners in states with a sufficient number of them. Lastly, investigators are urged to broaden this study to Texas community colleges. The degree to which results based on 4-year university students are generalizable to community college students is not known.

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The Bologna Process and HEIs Institutional Autonomy

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The Bologna Process has made a strong impact on the development of European higher education, although the greatest impact has not been from the process itself, but from the national reforms introduced along with it. With a relatively young higher education system, Norway was ahead of most European countries in implementing the Bologna Process and reforms indirectly linked to it. Due to path dependencies and the Higher Education Institutions being, to a certain extent, autonomous and carriers of their own culture, we cannot draw conclusions at the local level without empirical studies. Therefore, the case of Nord University shows us how this process directly and indirectly affected Higher Education Institutions in Norway. The Higher Education Institutions (HEI) integrated horizontally in an education system that was increasingly hierarchical and competitive. The need for standardisation in order to secure equality and efficiency, and the demand for greater autonomy in the HEIs was answered by strengthening some and weakening other forms of institutional autonomy along with the establishment of a new accreditation system. Three dimensions of autonomy are touched on in this study. Firstly, the question of who has decision-making power in the HEIs defines whether they are ruled by professional or administrative autonomy. Secondly, the question of the HEIs' mission is decided either by the HEI itself, representing substantive autonomy, or by external demands on production and external funding, representing what I call beneficial autonomy. Finally, the question of how the HEIs fulfil their mission decides whether they have individual autonomy or procedural autonomy. In the last case, the HEIs are given external frameworks, which, to a great extent, define how they are to carry out their mission in order to succeed. The development of higher education in Norway shows how the introduction of the accreditation system hampered different types of institutional autonomy and strengthened others, a development that also brought dilemmas and tensions related to academic freedom. The Bologna Process played the role of both supplier of terms and a catalyst for these dilemmas. One of the consequences in Norway was a development where former colleges gained university status, among them Nord University (University of Nordland) in 2011.

Keywords: Bologna, Higher education, Norway, Nord University, HEI autonomy.

Introduction

The European integration of higher education, which gained momentum from the 1960s onwards, has resulted in extensive national change processes. However, in relation to previous national higher education reforms, the reforms that have taken place in the wake of the Bologna Process, have been marked by a higher pace (Witte, Wende, & Huisman, 2008, p. 229). This made room for a greater degree of change than that anticipated by North's model from 1990 (North, 1990). Analyses of these national change processes must include the influence of supranational organisations in order to present the whole picture (Gumport, 2008, p. 26; Zgaga, Teichler, Schuetze, & Wolter, 2010, p. 14; Kyvik, 2009, p. 23). It is

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also relevant, according to Gammelsæter, to take a closer look at countries outside Europe that have a hegemonic influence on these developments, such as the USA. However, that is outside the scope of this article (Gammelsæter, 2002, p. 10). The OECD and the EU have played key roles, both as drivers of and agenda setters for European development (Maassen & Olsen, 2007; Gornitzka & Langfeldt 2008; Witte, Wende & Huisman, 2008; Kyvik, 2009).

The OECD's recommendations are based on empirical data and thus have a high degree of legitimacy (Gammelsæter, 2002, p. 10). This organisation has played an important role in the development of knowledge about higher education across national borders, which is a condition for the increasing integration of higher education systems in the West (Bleiklie, 2003). It has also played a key role in the overriding process of introducing goal and performance management in European higher education. According to Kyvik, the EU has played an important role in connection with the establishment of a common education market in Europe (Kyvik, 2009). After 1998, the European Commission increasingly set the agenda for the development of higher education in Europe (M. Castells, personal communication, May 15, 2014; Keeling, 2006).

This article takes a closer look at how the Bologna Process directly and indirectly affected the reforms of Norwegian higher education between 1998 and 2010, with respect to HEIs' autonomy. The Bologna Process was an initiative to harmonise higher education standards in Europe, which indirectly influenced the development of HEIs' autonomy.

Since national reforms also have unintended consequences at the local level and studies have shown that it is the HEIs with the lowest status that drive developments in the field, the process whereby Bodø University College became a university is used as a case. This took place in parallel with the Bologna Process. It serves as an example of how increased European cooperation in higher education contributed to increasing the autonomy of HEIs (Witte, Wende & Huisman, 2008, p. 228). The development that culminated in university status and the establishment of Nord University (the University of Nordland) in 2011, was both directly and indirectly affected by the Bologna Process.

Literature Review

When it comes to the impact of the Bologna Process at the local level in Norway, a number of books are crucial to this study, both in order to understand continuity and new developments as well as key concepts. I will present some of them that have relevance to different parts of this study.

In the article "Governmental policy, organisational ideals and institutional adaption in Norwegian higher education" from 2006, Stensaker explores the relationship between the Government's intentions and the implications of education policy between 1990 and 2000, the period leading up to the Bologna Process. He traces a development towards the bureaucratic ideal in Norway due, among other things, to more centralised decision-making processes in the HEIs (Askling, 1997; Stensaker, 2006, p. 43). Another factor is the institutional implementation of

external quality assurance and political guidelines in order to improve and secure the quality of teaching and learning, dominated by the European level (Kogan & Hanney, 2000, p. 240). Stensaker (2006, p. 43) underlines that there is a gap between the governmental policies and their organisational implementation. In order to find effects at the local level, it is therefore crucial to study how the leaders make use of new room for manoeuvre in reforms, as well as their role in bringing meaning and direction to the organisational implementation process. This insight is the premise for my analysis.

One of the main theoretical sources that illustrate the historical development within the college sector in the Norwegian higher education system, is Svein Kyvik's book *The Dynamics of Change in Higher Education. Expansion and Contraction in an Organisational Field* from 2009, which provides crucial concepts and definitions for analysing the development of higher education in Norway.

Kyvik presents dynamics that follow different partially overlapping phases. One of these phases is when the HEIs became more similar due to a horizontal integration of the college sector where they became more strongly related to each other. Horizontal integration is defined as "de-differentiation and de-diversification of professional and vocational programmes in the college sector" (Kyvik, 2009, p. 81). In this phase, there was a reduction of colleges in the sector due to mergers, and the college sector was separated from the university sector in a binary system (Kyvik, 2009, p. 9). Another phase took place during the Bologna Process in Norway and differed from most other western countries. Here, academic and vocational drift met in a more or less unified education system where universities offered most educations, both academic and professional (Kyvik, 2009, p. 10). Kyvik (2009) defines, like other researchers in the field of higher education, the education system along two dimensions: in relation to the state and in relation to other HEIs. In this article, I present a third dimension, defining higher education systems also along the dimension of society at large.

Theoretical Perspectives and Sources

In this article, I draw on an institutionalist perspective that takes account of the cultural, normative and formal changes that affected the field of higher education in Norway (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983; Scott, 2014). This perspective enables us to take a closer look at the interaction between institutions, organisations and key persons at the national, regional and local level. The resource dependence theory is also used to highlight the tension between dependence on an institution's surroundings and the independence achieved by the institution through what we now call local entrepreneurship and network building (Pfeffer & Salancik, 2003 [1978]). This combination produces a richer picture of the development of higher education (Gornitzka, 1999).

The impact of structural and cultural factors as well as the impact of interest groups has been crucial to this study. Structural explanations take, according to Kyvik (2009, p. 189) a closer look at "the impact of technological, economic, and

social change in society on the organisation of human activity" in addition to changes generated by the education system itself. The theoretical paradigm structural-functionalism has been criticised for not explaining the mechanisms leading to change, among them conflict. What it *does* explain, is the growth in student numbers as a result of an expanding middle class and the expansion of new professions in the welfare state. Due to this paradigm, the transition from fragmented expansion to horizontal integration could, according to Kyvik (2009, p. 27), be explained as "a shift from a dysfunctional organisational structure to a more functional or effective way of organising this part of the educational system".

When it comes to cultural explanations, Kyvik highlights the role of norms and values in developing higher education systems as one theoretical approach. In this article, the values of social benefit, efficiency, quality and equal opportunities for education, by me called "the principle of equality", are given special attention (Haukland, 2018, p. 29). Another theoretical approach that is given weight is the influence of global ideologies on higher education systems, which implies that they change as a result. One key question here is whether they respond more to their global context than to their own cultural and social history. Finally, in addition to the specific local organisational culture, there is a tendency for organisations to copy each other (Kyvik, 2009, p. 189).

As structural and cultural explanations do not involve actors; "Structural development and cultural trends do not make decisions", Kyvik (2009, p. 29) underlines that there also has to be a third theoretical approach in order to reveal the dynamics of change on the field of higher education. The influence of interest groups is a perspective of power and conflict, and emphasises change as a product of interaction and power struggles. This study also uses this approach both at a local, national and European level (Haukland, 2018).

In the article "Governmental policies and organisational change in higher education" from 1999, Gornitzka presents a theoretical framework for comparative research on organisational change in the field of higher education. She bases her framework on both new institutionalism and on resource dependency, in order to understand how HEIs' economic frameworks and plans are affected by the policy and programme of the government. How do they change as a result of their response? Both theories have two basic prerequisites: "organisational choice and action are limited by various external pressures and demands, and the organisations must be responsive in order to survive" (Gornitzka 1999, p. 7). They differ, however, in to what extent and how they change.

The theory of resource dependency, first presented by Pfeffer and Salancik in 1978, highlights that organisations are flexible and basically oriented towards other organisations in order to protect their autonomy and decision-making power when they meet limitations and external control. They make active and independent choices firstly because their development is also dependent on them, secondly because they can lead and manipulate their dependency through alternative responses to external demands, and thirdly, the demands are not always consistent. They find themselves "in complex environments faced with competing demands" (Gornitzka, 1999).

The new institutional approach has another viewpoint, emphasising stability and hindrances for changes within organisations. For example, March has shown that most organisational changes are the result of "relatively stable routine responses that relate organisations to their environments" (Gornitzka, 1999, p. 9; March, 1998). Gornitzka takes a closer look at why this is dependent on whether the reform is in line with the institutional identity of the organisation or not. What she calls "a normative match", a concurrence between values and prerequisites for change and the identity and tradition of the organisation, is, according to her, decisive in order for political initiative to generate organisational change (Gornitzka, 1999, p. 10).

Witte, Wende and Huisman's article "Blurring boundaries: how the Bologna process changes the relationship between university and non-university higher education in Germany, the Netherlands and France" from 2008 concerns how an overarching European process influences and limits the different national contexts affected by it. The authors show how this, among other things, led to political freedom of action at the national level to renegotiate the autonomy of HEIs (Witte, Wende, & Huisman, 2008, p. 219).

The authors assert that the Bologna Process affected the relationship between HEIs and the State because the change of the degree structure at the national level paved the way for further changes to the education system:

> "If the degree structures changes, this is an opportunity for policy makers and other stakeholders to reconsider the distribution of roles and status between the institutional types in the system … Understanding the power struggles that took place means looking behind the surface of converging degree titles in Europe" (Witte, Wende, & Huisman, 2008, p. 218).

According to Douglass North's model for institutional change, perceptions derived from an international context can lead to a more extensive change process than expected (Witte, Wende, & Huisman, 2008, 219, p. 228; North, 1990). Although developments differed in the three countries and were strongest in Germany, the authors show that an integration of higher education took place in all of them. This article takes a closer look at this integration process in the Norwegian context.

Two of the sub-goals of the Bologna Process were to strengthen HEIs' autonomy and to increase efficiency in the field of higher education (Gaston, 2010, p. 66; Bleiklie, 2007, p. 98). Both of these goals were achieved through the establishment of the accreditation system, which was made possible through the strengthening of HEIs' institutional autonomy in connection with the 1994 Norwegian college reform (Elken & Frølich, 2017, p. 104). However, the increasing complexity of the field necessitates taking a closer look at the type of institutional autonomy that was strengthened through the different national reform processes in connection with the Bologna Process.

There are basically three types of institutional autonomy. The first concerns whose decision-making power is strongest when an institution's autonomy increases. Professional autonomy means that the academic staff have most decision-making power in the organisation, while administrative autonomy is

defined by the organisation's central administration having most decision-making power (Etzioni, 1964, p. 75- 84; Schmidtlein & Berdahl, 2011, p. 70). There is also a distinction between substantive and what I call beneficial autonomy, depending on what decision-making power the institution has over what the organisation will do. Fran A. van Vught (1996, p. 185) has defined substantive autonomy as the right to decide the institution's mission (Haukland, 2015, p. 207; S. Fossum, personal communication, January 4, 2011; F. Mellemvik, personal communication, April 22, 2014; E. Nilsen, personal communication, January 5, 2011; Figure 1). Beneficial autonomy means that HEIs have to raise part of their financial base from external clients and financial partners, and that HEIs' income is based on their production, primarily in the form of graduates and research products, in addition to external funding.

The third type of institutional autonomy relates to the extent to which the organisation itself decides how it achieves its mission. In that case, the mission is to ensure profitable operation rather than to develop and preserve the region, to develop counter-expertise based on regional knowledge development and to ensure the supply of an educated labour force also in rural areas (Yttri, 2010). A distinction is drawn here between individual and procedural autonomy, depending on whether the HEIs set their own limits, as in the case of individual autonomy, or whether their limits are set externally, and are thereby limited to exercising procedural autonomy (Torjesen, Hansen, Pinheiro, & Vrangbæk, 2017, p. 80).

Methodology

As pointed out by W. Richard Scott (2014, p. 258, 270), historical presentations provide a more correct picture of whether change processes represent a break or continuity. A time frame also prevents analyses from being oriented towards dichotomies instead of insight into complexity. The Bologna Process did not represent a break, but a continuation of an overarching and comprehensive structural change at the European and national level in higher education (Neave, 2004, p. 12; Musselin, 2004, p. 37, Gammelsæter, 2002, p. 10). The analysis will therefore also be based on a longer time frame where relevant.

A large number of sources touch on this topic. Some local literature is available in the form of publications to mark anniversaries, reports and articles. I have studied key documents at Nord University, Bodø Archive, Nord University, Nesna Archive, the National Archives of Norway in Trondheim and Nordland Archive, as well as articles relating to the process of becoming a university in the local press. At the national level, Official Norwegian Reports, white papers, parliamentary deliberations and draft resolutions and bills are central sources that have been reviewed, as have historical accounts of higher education in Nordland, in particular, and of higher education, in general.

One of these is my book *Nye høyder. Framveksten av Universitetet i Nordland* ("New Heights. The development of the University of Nordland") from 2015, which is based on archival studies in national and regional archives, along with interviews, covering the development in expertise and higher education in the

city of Bodø from the 1850s up until the establishment of the University of Nordland, now Nord University, in 2011.

I also rely heavily on around 40 semi-structured interviews conducted with faculty and leaders at Bodø University College and other HEIs about the process leading up to university status in 2011 (Haukland, 2018). Some of the interviews are with external actors. The interaction between the local and European level has been examined through these interviews, as well as other sources.

Discussion: Norwegian HEIs' Autonomy

The interviews reveal that the institutional development at Bodø University College was regarded as a regional democratisation of knowledge with the degree of institutional autonomy serving as both a limiting factor and driver. Based on these dimensions, the analysis will therefore look more closely at the increase in institutional autonomy at Bodø University College, and how it affected the process of becoming a university.

When Bodø University College was established in 1994, following a merger between the city's teacher training college, nursing college and Nordland College, the new institution had much greater autonomy than the former colleges. The three former colleges nonetheless felt a loss of autonomy because they now had to coordinate their activities under the same leadership and within a new framework. The biggest challenge for the leadership of the new university college was therefore to establish a common organisational culture. The process of becoming a university was seen as a key strategy in order to achieve a shared identity.

At the national level, the problem was how the increasing focus on quality assurance in the field could both follow up national priorities and ensure greater institutional autonomy. An evaluation report from 1999 in connection with the college reform stated that "it is … difficult to envisage strong national control and a high degree of local autonomy being achieved at the same time, while it is fully possible in theory to simultaneously increase efficiency and improve the quality of work at the institutions" (Kyvik, 1999, p. 6). Quality assurance was not linked to national priorities at that time.

Decision-making Power: Professional vs. Administrative Autonomy

When the university process started in 2000, the goal of becoming a university meant that the institution would become part of the university sector and enjoy a higher degree of professional autonomy in a binary education system. The academic staff held on to this perception until the process of becoming a university was concluded. The different academic communities, with their different college cultures, saw the plans to become a university as a strategy to win back the autonomy they had lost in the 1994 merger (Høgskolestyret i Nordland, 1990). For example, the academic staff at the Faculty of Teacher Education and at the Faculty of Health Sciences had a strong wish to safeguard the vocational drift of each programme of professional study (E. Nilsen, personal communication, January 5,

2011). Achieving this within the framework of the new institution was challenging, since academic drift was seen as the mark of a good academic environment and institutional autonomy entailed more administrative and less professional autonomy. Academic drift is in this article used as a term for general academisation processes in the college sector (Kyvik, 2007). Until the merger in 1994, the two programmes of professional study had institutional autonomy, with administrative and professional autonomy being largely correlated. However, this changed in connection with the merger as the rector was no longer recruited from these academic communities (Karlsen, 2005, p. 410).

Their support for the university process was based on the assumption that university status would increase their professional autonomy through the right to develop master's and PhD programmes (R. H. Olsen, personal communication, December 20, 2010; M. Rasch, personal communication, December 21, 2010; E. Nilsen, personal communication, January 5, 2011; B. S. Brinchmann, personal communication, February 4, 2011). The interview material shows that they did not distinguish between the previously mentioned different types of institutional autonomy, which led to an expectation that greater institutional autonomy would be synonymous with greater professional autonomy. As mentioned, however, it was in reality administrative autonomy that increased at the university college. Greater institutional autonomy concentrated in the central administration enabled Bodø University College to implement the changes the process of becoming a university required. Stensaker regards this as part of the bureaucratisation process because decision-making processes in the institutions became more centralised (Askling, 1997, p. 17–26; Stensaker, 2006, p. 43).

The plans to become a university presented a new opportunity to win back professional autonomy because university status meant that the academic communities could establish PhD programmes themselves. All of the academic communities regarded an increase in professional autonomy as a strong motivation for the process of becoming a university. The fact that the academic staff saw university status as being synonymous with an increase in their professional autonomy may explain why few of them opposed the goal of becoming a university, despite the process generating major change processes within the institution (Haukland, 2015, p. 144).

Quality assurance has been highlighted as "the most potent of change agents" (Kogan & Hanney, 2000, p. 240; Stensaker, 2006, p. 44). The development in Norway was part of an overarching trend in Europe, where the need to establish a regulated and independent accreditation body became more pronounced as the 1990s progressed. In extension of this work, in which Denmark, France, the Netherlands and the UK played important roles, the European Commission established the European Network for Quality Assurance in Higher Education (ENQA) in 2000 with the goal of establishing a common education market with harmonised degrees, grades and quality requirements. In the same year, the Mjøs Committee recommended that Norway should be part of this development. The establishment of the accreditation system generated many unintended consequences, however, that went beyond assuring academic quality. One of the

consequences was that it made it easier for university colleges with ambitions to become universities to enter the university sector (Elken & Frølich, 2017).

As we have seen, the distinction between different types of institutional autonomy provides insight into the organisational changes that took place in connection with the Norwegian college reform, and partly explains why both the leadership and academic staff at Bodø University College championed the process of becoming a university. This was an important precondition for succeeding. The fact that the strongest academic communities in the college sector – at Stavanger University College, Agder University College (with its main campus in the city of Kristiansand) and Bodø University College – actively participated in the process of becoming universities could also explain why there was such a strong consensus on the major reform changes in the field in connection with the Quality Reform Programme in 2003, a reform that is regarded as having introduced the Bologna Process in Norway, and the establishment of the independent national quality assurance body Nokut the same year (Haukland, 2017, p. 8). These university colleges had the greatest potential to delay the process, but they were keen to realise the plans to become universities and thus to also agree other central requirements from the central authorities, rather than holding back the process.

In the Mjøs Committee's recommendation from 2000, which formed the basis for the reform, institutional autonomy and quality assurance were two of the key dimensions that were to be coordinated within a new framework:

> "It is important … to find organisational and management models that strike an expedient balance between the institutions' wish for more freedom and responsibility and overall control, coordination and quality assurance." (Kirke, utdannings-, og forskningsdepartementet, 2000, p. 51)

This balancing act resulted in greater, but increasingly limited institutional autonomy (Neave, 2004, p. 22). Through the Quality Reform, Bodø University College's central administration gained even more control of the institution's activities (Elken & Frølich, 2017). This was a part of the European development in the field, with the exception of England, where HEIs already functioned as autonomous units.

According to Ivar Bleiklie, the Quality Reform led to educational institutions increasingly functioning as special interest organisations "in which power is transferred from the academic staff and other employee groups to appointed leaders and external stakeholders" (Bleiklie, 2007, p. 98). This power shift meant that, while the academic communities developed higher degree programmes to either recover lost or win new professional autonomy, they also lost control of the development of the institution (Haukland, 2015, p. 206).

One example that illustrates how the establishment of Nokut undermined professional autonomy was the development of external requirements for PhD programmes that were made applicable to the whole field of higher education. At the same time, it facilitated greater institutional autonomy through the establishment of regulations for the transition from university college to university status (Nokut, 2006). University status was thus no longer synonymous with greater professional autonomy. It rather led to greater administrative, but also

diminished professional autonomy. Nevertheless, the accreditation system was important in relation to Bodø University College's process of becoming a university because it meant that both the administration and the academic staff had the same objectives for the work on gaining university status. The interview material shows that there was strong support for the process within the organisation also after 2003, probably based on lack of insight into the shift from professional to administrative autonomy in the university sector.

According to John Brennan and Tarla Shah, quality assurance can "undermine existing academic cultures by weakening the boundaries between groups within HEIs" (Brennan & Shah, 2000, p. 119; Stensaker, 2006, p. 44). This was what transpired; the leadership and academic staff cooperated closely on the development of PhD programmes between 2000 and 2009 in order to meet Nokut's requirements (Haukland, 2015, p. 147).

It was not just the perception that university status entailed professional autonomy that motivated the academic staff. This group also saw becoming a university as a means of securing their academic freedom, and the interview material also shows that these two aspects were regarded as the same thing. University status meant being able to establish master's and PhD programmes without having to apply to the Ministry. However, the transition to the accreditation system meant that external requirements also applied to these programmes at the universities, so that the academic freedom the academic communities sought was in reality not achieved. Instead, the PhD programmes that were already established had to be consolidated, rather than new programmes being introduced.

A report from Workshops on Higher Education Reform (HER) from 2010, states, among other things, that "(i)nstitutional autonomy has been given a new dimension, but there is a rising suspicion that it occasionally comes into conflict with academic freedom …" (Zgaga, Teichler, Schuetze, & Wolter, 2010, p. 20). In democratisation processes, there will always be factors that act in parallel with and challenges the original intention. The standardisation of the field had this effect on the university process. While the academic leadership of the faculties primarily saw the process as a means of achieving professional autonomy, the academic staff primarily regarded university status as a means of achieving greater academic freedom. Academic freedom can be defined both individually and collectively, and it is linked to the content and results of research. Collective academic freedom is safeguarded through professional autonomy, while individual academic freedom is not necessarily either safeguarded or undermined by it.

When academic freedom is to be organised, it is often defined as professional autonomy, to ensure that decision-making power rests with the academic staff and not with the central administration. The struggle for the professional autonomy of one's own academic community can thereby overshadow or be confused with the struggle for individual academic freedom. There are no examples in the interview material of a distinction being drawn between the two. Professional autonomy and academic freedom were seen as the same thing during the university process. This partly explains the strong institutional will and the strong internal cooperation at Bodø University College during the university process (Haukland, 2015, p. 145).

Mission Control: Substantive vs. Beneficial Autonomy

For the university college's central administration, the process of becoming a university was primarily a struggle to strengthen the institution's possibility of influencing its development, even when the future is uncertain, by strengthening their aforementioned substantive autonomy, i.e. the right to decide the institution's mission (van Vught, 1996, p. 185; Stensaker, 2006, p. 44; Haukland, 2015, p. 207; S. Fossum, personal communication, January 4, 2011; F. Mellemvik, personal communication, April 22, 2014; E. Nilsen, personal communication, January 5, 2011; see Figure 1). To achieve university status, the university college first had to meet and function in accordance with the requirements made of Norwegian universities. In many ways, it had to present itself as a autonomous university before it could actually become one. The university college achieved this by, among other things, strengthening its "third mission".

"The third mission" is the term used for HEIs' responsibility for regional economic development, which Casper (2013, p. 1313) has highlighted as an important part of their relationship with society. Research activity with a regional focus and the study programmes' relevance to the labour market have been particularly highlighted in this context, as a source of new technology and knowledge in the region. "The third dimension" is a spill-over effect that promotes society and the business community, and, according to Casper, is strengthened by the institutions' network building and personal contacts in the region.

The reform developments in the field during the period paved the way for a stronger third mission in the college sector (Gammelsæter, 2002, p. 25). How and to what extent this affected the university college says something about how it operated as an autonomous institutional entrepreneur in contact with its surroundings during the process of becoming a university. The important aspect here is the ability to combine symbolic or material resources in new ways. The university college's regional networks were one of the preconditions if the fight for local transitional schemes was to result in the transformation of the institution from a university college into a university.

The university colleges' contribution to regional economic development was an important part of their relationship with society. Their role as region builders generated external funding for the college sector, which strengthened their position as autonomous parties and their institutional entrepreneurship because they could increasingly act independently of state funding. This was decisive in the process of becoming a university, since the university college received no funding from central authorities in order to achieve its goal (M. Rasch, personal communication, December 21, 2010; F. Mellemvik, personal communication, December 15, 2010; S. Fossum, personal communication, December 15, 2010). Both research activity with a regional focus and study programmes of relevance to the labour market were important to the success of "the third mission", which was strengthened by a number of factors.

First, the institution was strongly involved in building networks and cultivating personal contacts in the region throughout the period (Haukland, 2015, p. 212). This was crucial if regional research results were to benefit the business

community and society at large, and for identifying and addressing the need for new study programmes (Norsk institutt for by- og regionforskning [Institute for Urban and Regional Research], 2000, p. 56). Bodø University College had an advantage here due to its central location, geographically and politically, in the capital of the county, and its proximity to other infrastructure in the region.

Both the rector and director of Bodø University College were strong network builders who were in contact with central authorities and "second order actors" at the local and national level (Kyvik, 2009, p. 22). However, the process of uniting the region behind strong institutional development in Bodø also encountered challenges. Towns in the north and south of the county were experiencing a decline in population and in the business sector, while there was strong growth in Bodø. This challenged the cooperation on Nordland as an entity and Bodø as a regional centre for higher education, and thereby also the horizontal integration of university colleges in Nordland. The county was one of two counties to retain more than one university college following the university college reform of 1994. Narvik University College was situated in the north of the county, while Nesna University College was situated in the south.

The establishment of decentralised campuses in Tysfjord, in Helgeland and in Vesterålen was a way of taking responsibility for the development of the supply of an educated labour force in rural areas (Haukland, 2015, p. 221). This was an expression of institutional regionalisation, at the same time as study programmes were decentralised, a dynamic that Kyvik (2009, p. 10) believes promotes vertical integration defined as the shift from "the long period of geographical decentralisation of non-university institutions …" to a period of regionalisation (Kyvik, 2009, p. 81). Narvik University College and Nesna University College saw the development of a university in Bodø as a threat to their autonomy (Haukland, 2015, p. 182). Bodø University College's decentralised campuses, with up to 500 students, were nonetheless involved in generating support for the university process in the region (M. Rasch, personal communication, December 21, 2010). The university college emerged as an autonomous actor with a will to develop Nordland.

As we have seen, greater institutional autonomy was to be balanced with greater overarching control, coordination and quality assurance by the Ministry. As well as further strengthening the importance of the central administration as a local facilitator, it also made a strong contribution to the standardisation of quality assurance criteria and systems. Substantive autonomy was thus weakened in favour of beneficial autonomy where "the third mission" played a key role in building networks in the region and in raising funding for the process of becoming a university. In many ways, it enjoyed greater substantive authority as a university college than after it secured university status, because it then had to be defended in accordance with Nokut's regulations relating to Norwegian universities, although the quality requirements applied to both sectors.

The Surprise: Individual vs. Procedural Autonomy

The standardisation encouraged more competition between the institutions, which, in turn, strengthened the horizontal integration previously driven by academic drift and equality requirements in the college sector. The universities and colleges had become comparable entities, and they could be ranked based on a common set of criteria, which led to a stronger hierarchisation of the field, where institutional diversity was sacrificed due to stronger competition. The goal was to be more like the HEIs with the highest status.

This hierarchisation of the field enabled the best HEIs in the college sector to qualify for university status (Fulsås, 2000, p. 396; Haukland, 2018). Individual autonomy was weakened in favour of procedural autonomy, and expertise trumped representativeness with regard to the division of labour (Jonsson, 2006, p. 28). According to Kyvik (2007, p. 334), this new competition led to a strengthening of different types of academic drift in the institutions.

However, the fact that Bodø University College gained greater administrative autonomy, and greater influence on the development of the institution, did not mean that the leadership gained more substantive autonomy, which is characterised by decicive power regarding the institution's mission. In connection with the Quality Reform, elements of both professional and substantive autonomy were transferred to Nokut during the university process, and its administrative autonomy was instead accompanied by greater procedural autonomy (see Figure 1). Instead of determining the institution's mission, the leadership's task was now to decide how the mission was to be achieved within a given external framework. One of the success criterias was to expand the "third mission".

It can be argued that this development ensured Bodø University College university status. Nokut's expert committees had an advisory function in the application processes for the PhD programmes in sociology, professional praxis and in aquaculture, which was decisive in relation to their approval (Haukland, 2015). The development of three of the PhD programmes, campus facilities, a new quality assurance system and satisfactory student welfare arrangements increasingly resembled procedures, which have to meet pre-defined requirements. Nokut's regulations served as a blueprint for the university in the making. Following the introduction of the regulations on minimum standards for Norwegian universities in 2006, the process of becoming a university mainly focused on meeting the detailed requirements for writing an application for university status that would win approval.

The establishment of Nokut meant that academics were granted decision-making powers on different expert committees, but they did not decide what they were to make decisions about or on which criteria they were to base their decisions. The professional autonomy of Nokut therefore takes on a veneer of organic order through stronger administrative and procedural autonomy in the institutions. Organic order is here understood as when the relation between the HEIs is defined by different functions and tasks through specialization (Bleiklie, 2003, p. 342). At the same time it promotes both an "output" order aimed at ensuring efficiency and quality pursuant to given standards in higher education,

and a hierarchical order, where ranking is based on the degree of academic drift in the institutions. According to Bleiklie (2003, p. 341), organic order is weakened in favour of a hierarchical order in relations between HEIs when university colleges offer PhD programmes.

As previously mentioned, the interview material shows that the academic communities did not distinguish between the different types of institutional autonomy. This can partly explain why few people opposed the university plans, despite the process generating extensive change processes at the institution (Haukland, 2015, p. 144). In reality, a stronger institutional autonomy that was concentrated in the central administration following the Quality Reform increased Bodø University College's ability to implement changes. While the academic communities developed higher degree programmes to achieve greater professional autonomy through university status, they also lost control of the development of the institution (Haukland, 2015, p. 206). According to Bleiklie (2007, p. 98), the Quality Reform led the HEIs to increasingly function as special interest organisations "in which power is transferred from the academic staff and other employee groups to appointed leaders and external stakeholders." Their contribution to the university process was decisive, but the premises on which they were originally based changed after the establishment of Nokut. The academic communities thus did not gain the professional autonomy on which their support for university status was based.

Three Dimensions of Autonomy

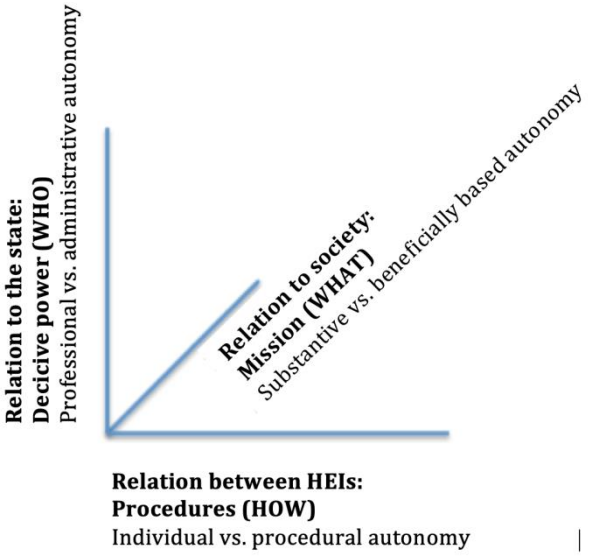
As we have seen, the central leadership and the faculties of the HEI Bodø University College had different aspirations for cooperating in the university process leading to the establishment of the University of Nordland, now Nord University, in 2011. While the central administration aimed for greater institutional autonomy for the leadership and faculty, the faculty members looked at the university process as an opportunity either to win back professional autonomy lost in the merger leading to the establishment of Bodø University College in 1994, or to strengthen it. The process was made possible partly by the changes following, directly and indirectly, from the Bologna Process. The Norwegian Quality Reform Programme did not only entail the implementation of the Process, but was also the answer to several challenges in the field of higher education in Norway, among them the university aspirations of the strongest university colleges.

The different forms of institutional autonomy are displayed in three dimensions in Figure 1. The first dimension concerns *who* manages the decision-making power. During the Bologna Process, the centre of gravity relating to decision-making power not only shifted from faculty to central administration, it also shifted from the HEIs to different committees of Nokut. The second dimension concerns how the HEIs' tasks are performed. During the national integration processes following the Bologna Process, the individual autonomy of Norwegian HEIs was weakened in favour of procedural autonomy. Although the question of how the HEIs accomplished their mission was left to the institutions to a greater extent, they now had to satisfy stricter formal demands made by Nokut. The third

dimension mainly went under the radar due to the new accreditation regime's lack of experience. The organisational culture of establishing and innovating new education programmes in Nordland, which strongly influenced the mission the HEI was to have in the region, was now threatened by the strong demands for economic growth. The substantive autonomy, which was assumed to be strengthened by the forthcoming university status, was replaced by a new beneficial autonomy for both colleges and universities alike.

The different forms of institutional autonomy are presented in Figure 1 below:

Figure 1. Different Types of Institutional Autonomy within Higher Education Systems



Source: Haukland, 2019. Based on (van Vught, 1996; Schmidtlein & Berdahl, 2011; Torjesen, Hansen, Pinheiro & Vrangbæk, 2017)

Conclusions

The Bologna Process has made a strong impact on the development of European higher education, although the greatest impact has not been from the process itself, but from national reforms introduced along with it (Stensaker, 2006; Witte, Wende, & Huisman, 2008, p. 219, 228).

This article shows how the dynamics of change in higher education both at the European and Norwegian level affects the local level with respect to institutional autonomy.

As an indirect and direct result of the Bologna Process, the Norwegian binary education system changed into a more uniform education system. This was not generated from the relationship between the HEIs and between them and the state alone. Through stronger ties to society at large this was even generated from a third dimension, adding a tremendous complexity to the field. The development was achieved partly as a result of the university processes in Agder, Rogaland and

Nordland, due to a lack of resistance from the three strongest HEIs in the college sector, in their struggle to cross the boarder to the university sector. It led to the establishment of new universities in Norway with a professional profile, among them the University of Nordland, which was subsequently merged into present Nord University.

One of the original central aims of the colleges aspiring for university status in Norway was, as for the faculty members, to enhance and strengthen their professional autonomy. For the central administration, the main focus was to strengthen the substantive autonomy of the institution, gaining mission control. However, as the field of education underwent great changes along with the Bologna Process, the faculty members both in colleges and universities lost their professional autonomy to the central administration of HEIs as well as Nokut. On the other hand, the central administration did not gain the substantive autonomy they pursued due to the establishment of Nokut, but increased their autonomy when it came to their "third mission" along with other both colleges and universities.

Although the HEIs' institutional autonomy has been strengthened, it has also become more restricted, resulting in a decrease in professional, individual and substantive autonomy. In other words, the faculty has lost much of its decision-making power, and the HEIs have to manage their mission and solutions pursuant to stricter external frameworks and demands for quantitative quality and efficiency. National priorities have become more influential. The new complex three dimensional education system is yet to be examined and defined, in this article I only highlight some of the consequences due to institutional autonomy.

There are certain dilemmas associated with this development. It may threaten the HEIs' status as core institutions of society, as long as their aim to enhance regional development is to a large extent redefined from developing both urban and rural areas to pave the way for economic development in regional cities. It also entails a dilemma for the academic freedom of faculty members as professional autonomy is partly transferred from the HEIs to the different professional committees in Nokut. This concern has also been raised regarding the European HEIs in general (Van Vught, 1996, p. 185).

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Acronyms

EF: De europeiske fellesskapene (1967–1993) [European Community]

ENQA: European Network for Quality Assurance in Higher Education from 2004: European Association for Quality Assurance in Higher Education)

EU: The European Union

Nokut Nasjonalt organ for kvalitet i utdanningen [the Norwegian Agency for Quality Assurance in Education]

HEI: Higher Education Institution

OECD: The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development

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The Confused Professional Identity of Native and Non-Native EFL Teacher Educators: Are They Teachers or Researchers?

By Adina Mannes[*]

The demands of teacher educators underwent a major change. They not only are required to excel in teaching, but also to conduct research as an essential part of their professional life. This ambivalence raises questions regarding their professional identity. How can they identify with their profession if their roles keep changing? Two native and two non-native EFL teacher educators were interviewed about their perception of professional identity regarding being a researcher or a teacher and whether the demand to excel relies also on personal background factors such as being a native English speaker. The results indicated tension between research and teaching, which is a cause of frustration for EFL teacher educators. As for the issue of personal background, most of the interviewees did not believe that such factors are crucial. However, everyday reality in their colleges, where there are more native than non-native English speaker teachers, shows otherwise.

Keywords: EFL teacher educators, native English speaking teachers; non-native English speaking teachers, professional identity.

Introduction

Teachers' understanding of their professional identity (PI) is crucial for many reasons. It is indicative of their job leaving intentions (Kremer & Hoffman, 1985; Moore & Hoffman, 1988), it explains their response to educational reforms (Nias, 1989), and it has a great effect on their performance, efficacy, professional development, and ability and willingness to cope with educational change and their teaching practice (Beijaard, 2000; Sercu, 2006).

The PI of teacher educators in education colleges is in a state of introspection (Klavir & Kozminski, 2012). This can be seen very clearly in the ambivalent demands made of teacher educators: on the one hand, they are regarded as academic staff and are thus required to conduct research as an essential part of their professional life, while, on the other hand, they are required to excel in teaching in order to prepare students to become teachers. How can these teacher educators identify with their profession if their roles keep changing? Since many teacher educators assume this position as a result of being excellent teachers in regular schools, their main expertise is clearly in teaching and teacher preparation and not in the field of research. Guberman's findings (2009) that only 10% of teacher educators deal with research confirmed this assumption. Being an

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excellent EFL teacher is even more complex since, unlike teachers of other subjects, the EFL teacher has to deal with a problem unique to language teachers, namely, of being a native or non-native speaker of English. This paper reports on findings from a study, which investigated how EFL teacher educators regard their PI and whether the demand to excel as an EFL teacher educator also relies on personal background factors such as being a native English speaker. The study examined these issues through a qualitative study based on four individual interviews with two native and two non-native teacher educators in four academic colleges of education one in each selected college.

Background Information and Theoretical Framework

Higher Education-The Local Context. Israeli higher education has grown tremendously in the last decades; since 1990, the number of students in higher education has doubled. It was thought that by opening more colleges and upgrading their status to academic colleges more people would get a higher education and social gaps would shrink. Today, most Israeli teachers obtain their teaching training in 23 different colleges. According to the Central Bureau of Statistics (Maagan, 2015), in 2014, 1057 teachers obtained teaching certificates from universities, while 4428 teachers obtained their certificate from academic colleges. One of the results of this rapid growth has been the lower level of students accepted to the various universities and colleges, especially among those looking to become teachers. Clearly, such a change affects the general level of teachers as well as of future academic staff, since today's students are tomorrow's professors and teacher educators. This crisis prompted the Council of Higher Education to make changes to the funding of academic colleges to emphasize high standards of both teaching and research. As a result, research has now become a condition for promotion not only in universities, as previously, but also in the world of academic colleges (Vallensky, 2012). In his report on higher education, Vallensky (2012) criticized the preference given to research over teaching for high standards. He claimed that the same incentive given to research should also be given to teaching for high standards and that such a policy encourages teacher educators to direct their efforts at research rather than at the quality of their teaching. The original ideal of colleges as high standard teacher preparation colleges has lost its way. In their article about teacher educators, Klavir & Kozminski (2012) stated that the PI of teacher educators is confused in the eyes of educational leaders, society at large, and the teacher educator themselves. While education colleges aim to prepare students to become future teachers, they are also defined as academic institutions whose function is to advance research.

Professional Identity (PI) of Teachers

There are many ways to define self-identity. Norton (2000) defined identity as "how a person understands his or her relationship to the world, how that relationship is constructed across time and space, and how the person understands possibilities for the future" (p. 5). Beijaard, Meijer, & Verloop (2004) suggested that

identity is not something that one possesses but rather something that develops throughout one's life. One aspect of self-identity is professional identity (PI): "Who am I, or what am I as a professional person (Kosminsky, 2011, p. 13). Teachers' PIs are developed as a result of their experiences of different situations. It has been suggested that pre-service teachers bring their past experiences as students, their culture, their beliefs and values regarding what it means to be a teacher into their studies even before they become practicing teachers (Alsup, 2006). Some researchers believe that the PI of teachers is related to their concepts or images of self (Knowles, 1992; Nias, 1989). Others have proposed that PI should include societal expectations of what teachers should know and do (Holland, Lachicotte, Skinner, & Cain, 1998; Tickle, 2000). In general, identity can be understood as the various meanings that people attach to themselves and the meanings attached to them by other people (Beijaard, 1995). Varghese, Morgan, Johnston, & Johnson (2005) alleged that identity is the relationship between assigned identity (assigned by others) and claimed identity (claimed for the self).

In the field of EFL teachers, ideas concerning PI also vary. Astor (2000) asserted that a professional EFL teacher should be an expert in at least three fields of knowledge: pedagogy, methodology, and psycho- and applied linguistics. In addition, he believes that all these different areas must be learned and practiced since they are not attained intuitively. Glatthorn (1995) on the other hand, saw PI as the development of teachers in their professional role: "teacher development is the professional growth a teacher achieves as a result of gaining increased experience and examining his or her teaching systematically" (p. 41). Professional development includes formal experiences (such as attending workshops and professional meetings, mentoring, etc.) and informal experiences (such as reading professional publications, watching relevant documentaries, etc.) (Ganser, 2000). Despite these differences in defining the concepts, teachers' understanding of their PI is crucial as was mentioned in the introduction part above.

Native Versus Non-Native

One of the central topics in the EFL field, which is specifically related to teachers' PI, is the issue of native speaker teachers (NST) in contrast to non-native speaker teachers (NNST). Since teaching is a complex, personal and social activity and since it involves the whole person of the teacher (Cochran-Smith, 2005), his background plays a crucial role as well. Some studies have shown that NNSTs have identity conflicts due to the fact that, in some respects, their profession involves the acquisition of a second identity, namely, of the target language. This, understandably, can lead to feelings of inferiority among NNSTs of English and cause teachers to question their identity as legitimate TESOL professionals (Moussu & Llurda, 2008). It seems that NNSTs suffer from a psychological barrier which often has nothing to do with actual knowledge of the language but rather with feelings of inadequacy. Bernat (2008) defined this psychological phenomenon as "NNST Impostorhood" and claimed that it relates to feelings of inadequacy in the role of language teacher or language expert of one's non-native tongue (p. 1). This inferiority complex is believed by some researchers to be

"much more wide spread than might seem at first glimpse" (Rajagopalan, 2005, p. 293). Furthermore, a recent study, conducted in Israel, examining the PI of EFL high school teachers, showed that NSTs have higher levels of PI than NNSTs (Mannes, 2015).

Objectives of Present Study

The aim of the present study was to investigate:

- how EFL teacher educators regard their professional identity and whether they feel a sense of confusion between the demands to excel in both research and teaching;
- whether the demand to excel as an EFL teacher educator relies also on personal background factors, such as being a native speaker or living for a substantial period in an English-speaking country.

Method

Since the aim of this study was to better understand the feelings and beliefs of English teacher educators, the qualitative method was found to be the most suitable. The qualitative method enables an analysis of what people actually say (Riessman, 2002) and is used as a means of understanding the identity, lifestyle, and cultural and historical world of the narrator (Lieblich, Tuval-Mashiach, & Zilber, T 1998). Interviews were used in this study to collect the data (Holstein & Gubrium, 1995). This type of method allows us to get a deeper understanding of the topic since we talk to the participants and elicit information from them that cannot be obtained from questionnaires. On the other hand, as the number of interviewed participants is usually small one cannot draw conclusions to the entire teacher educators' population.

In Israel there are 23 academic colleges of education, 18 of which train students to become English teachers. Purposeful sampling (Seidman, 2013) was used to select four colleges for the interviews out of the 18. Two colleges were chosen from the central part of the country, one from the northern and one from the southern part of the country.

Four EFL teacher educators, one in each college, were interviewed in semi-structured interviews, after giving informed consent: two were native English-speaking teachers (NEST) and two were non-native English-speaking teachers (NNEST). One of the NESTs was a lecturer and the other the head of the English department. One of the NNESTs was a lecturer and the other the dean of human and social sciences. Anonymity was guaranteed. Some background questions about the teachers and their institutions were first asked. The other interview questions were based on the themes, which emerged from Robinson's research (2006) concerning the identity of teacher educators. The interviews of the present study included the following topics:

a. Relationship with students: responsibility of teacher educators beyond the obligatory academic material for personal values and norms.
b. Nature of instruction: the balance between academic (theoretical) and practical styles; lessons structured to serve as a model of good teaching.
c. Professional background of teacher educators:

1. Did they get their position due to outstanding performance in a regular school?
2. Do background factors influence the choice of teacher educators; in other words, does being a native speaker or living abroad for a substantial time improve the chance of being offered such a job?

d. Research:

Teacher educators' attitudes towards research

3. How do they perceive themselves: as teachers or researchers?
4. Demands of their colleges; is research a prerequisite for promotion?

The interviews were digitally recorded and transcribed. A thematic analysis (Boyatzis, 1998) of the interview data was used to identify the major issues surrounding EFL teacher educators. In order to find the key themes, the six phase-process was followed (Braun & Clarke, 2006). In the first phase, the interviews were transcribed to enable familiarization with the text. In the second phase, initial codes were generated by examining all the data again and coding interesting features. The third phase included the collation of codes into potential themes, and in the fourth phase the chosen themes were refined. Some themes were combined since there was not enough data to support them, and others were separated. In the fifth phase, the themes were named and defined for the purpose of clarity. Finally, in the sixth phase, the report was written with the integration of selected extracts which relate back to the research questions and the literature (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

Results

All the teachers interviewed were EFL teacher educators in academic colleges of education. Their teaching experience and qualification varied, as can be seen in Table 1 which provides background details about the participants.

The results were arranged into four themes which emerged from the interview data: (1) teaching versus educating, (2) the best way to instruct future teachers, (3) professional identity: am I a teacher or a researcher? and (4) the influence of personal background on the EFL teacher educator.

Table 1. Participants' Teaching Experience, Qualifications, Background Factors, and Position in the College

Name	Teaching experience	Qualification	Background factors	Position in college
Sima	15 years as teacher educator, no experience as a regular teacher	PhD, trained as teacher in a local university	Non-native English speaker	Dean of social sciences and teacher educator
Orit	13 years as English teacher, 20 years as teacher educator (high school and college)	PhD, trained as teacher in academic college in Israel	Non-native English speaker	Teacher educator
Mali	40 years of teaching experience, 12 years as teacher educator	MA, trained as teacher in US	Native English speaker	Teacher educator
Miriam	30 years of teaching experience (high school and college)	PhD, trained as teacher in US	Native English speaker	Head of English language education and teacher educator

Teaching Versus Educating

The first theme that emerged from the interviews concerned the teacher educator as an educator. This was very well expressed by Miriam: "I am a firm believer in practicing what you preach"; in other words, those who prepare student teachers should actually demonstrate how to be a good teacher and not just teach about it. Other interviewees agreed with this: "the first thing that I want is to teach them how to be a mensch, (as teachers) they have to be role models" (Mali); "I would hope that they see themselves as educators and that they would talk about values, important things" (Sima); "I try to educate them to be a teacher as I think a teacher should be" (Orit).

Mali went even further and expanded the role of the teacher educator way beyond the time and place of the classroom: "we are accessible totally accessible…I have students that call me all the time, that they have been teaching for years and they come to me."

The Best Way to Instruct Future Teachers

All the interviewees maintained that instruction should be practical. For example, Miriam described how she teaches the topic of differentiated instruction:

> "One of the things that I teach is differentiated instruction which means that my students, although they all get the same material, many of them get the material in

> different ways. So it's partly lecture and partly collaborative work, small group work for those who need it…"

Likewise, Mali insisted that practice is the only way to teach students to become future teachers: "I learned when I was in college that theory doesn't mean anything; it's tachles [real practice] that counts, and the courses that I teach are based on my 20 years in the classroom." Even Sima, who doesn't have teaching experience in a regular classroom and comes from a theoretical background, agreed: "I must say that when I began teaching 15 years ago, I used to be more theoretical…but then I realized that that is not what they need and I very quickly changed my approach."

Professional Identity: Am I a Teacher or a Researcher?

One of the major issues which came up in the interviews was the change that academic colleges are undergoing and the interviewees' different ways of coping with it. The reform in academic colleges of education affects the hiring requirements, the promotion track, and the actual demands of the teacher educators' job. Sima differentiated between two types of teacher educators:

> "pedagogical instructors are those who have lots of experience in the field, theory is less relevant for them…on the other hand those who teach more theoretical courses… here we recruit those who show some academic excellence, who publish, who write in academic journals…."

In her opinion, being a good teacher is enough to get accepted to a college as a teacher educator in the first place, but research and publications are necessary for subsequent promotion. She perceives herself as a researcher and sees this as an essential part of her identity. Orit also explained that in order to get into college: "you need an academic degree and you need to be experienced as a school teacher and that's it…but definitely not in order to get a promotion." Orit sees herself as both a researcher and a teacher: "simply because I teach and I also do research and publish."

The other two interviewees, however, saw the situation very differently. Mali, who doesn't have a doctoral degree, is not at all interested in research: "as a teacher educator, I think that my 18 years of experience are plus doctorate [more than a doctorate] and I don't think that it [a doctorate] is going to help me." She emphasized that it was the college who invited her to teach there and that she had never intended teaching in a college. Miriam showed more openness to the idea of research and recognized its importance but expressed difficulties coping with the changing priorities in the colleges:

> "I think research is important, [but] I don't think that it's necessarily something that everybody has to do. I think there is a great value in good teaching; I'm sorry that that isn't recognized nearly as much as self- promotion and publication is."

Although Miriam perceives herself as "a good teacher," she acknowledged that in the future she will have to publish, since "there is a demand for it and so I

will have to do it."

Miriam addressed another crucial issue when dealing with the change in emphasis from teaching to research: the need to provide the appropriate conditions to enable teacher educators to fulfil the requirements: "There is a huge push to publish, a huge push. However, most of the colleges don't give the conditions for research or publication…most teacher educators don't have the time, the tools, or the money to go into research."

The Influence of Personal Background on the EFL Teacher Educator

The fourth theme stemmed from 2 questions:

1. Did they get their position due to outstanding performance in a regular school?
2. Do background factors influence the choice of teacher educators; in other words, does being a native speaker or living abroad for a substantial time improve the chance of being offered such a job?

As for the first question, their answers varied. While Orit, Mali and Miriam taught first in high school, Sima, after finishing her studies immediately started teaching in a college. Moreover, nowadays, as a Dean, she also functions as teachers' recruiter, which allows her a more comprehensive point of view. In her opinion, for a pedagogical instruction position, only teaching experience in school is necessary while for a position requiring instruction of theoretical material academic credential such as, PhD degree, publications etc. are required. Orit, Mali and Miriam had wide experience as teachers in a classroom and so believe that any teacher educator must be experienced in teaching. Nevertheless, Miriam believes that today, teaching experience is not sufficient anymore and academic credentials are needed as well.

Concerning the second question, three interviewees maintained that the issue of being a native as opposed to non-native teacher of English was not relevant. As Mali said: "I've seen people who are native speakers but don't know the language well." Sima responded to this topic very briefly by just claiming that she saw no difference. Only Miriam elaborated on the topic, explaining that one of the requirements of a teacher is to excel in their subject matter:

> "I would hire only someone whose English is excellent, so given somebody who is not native and their English is okay as opposed to somebody who is native and their English is excellent, I would probably go for the excellent – the native speaker."

Though most participants claimed it was not an influencing factor, when checking how many native English speakers were on the staff of the different colleges, it was found that they comprised over half of the English teaching staff; a ratio which far exceeds the estimate that NESTs comprise 35% of the total English teaching staff in the Jewish education sector in Israel (Inbar-Laurie, 2005a, p.85). Table 2 indicates the ratio of native to non-native speaker teachers in the four colleges discussed.

Table 2. Ration of NESTs to NNESTs in the Four Colleges

Location of College	**Number of EFL Teacher Educators**	**English Native Speakers**	**Nonnative English Speakers**	**Percentage of English Native Speakers**
Center of Israel (Sima's college)	24	12	12 many of which lived extensively in English speaking countries	50%
Northern part of Israel (Orit's college)	4	2	2	50%
Southern part of Israel (Mali's college)	9	6	3	66%
Center of Israel (Miriam's college)	23	17	6 3 of which have lived extensively in English speaking countries	74%

Discussion and Conclusion

The interviews described above highlight the complexity of the topic of PI for the EFL teacher educators interviewed in this study. On the one hand, they are teachers whose goal is to train future teachers of English -in itself a full-time and demanding job- and, on the other hand, they are required to do research and publish without the necessary time or facilities. How would they answer Kosminsky's (2011, p. 13) question: "Who or what am I as a professional person?" Is it even possible for them to define themselves professionally?

When relating to the key themes that came up in the interviews, some of the answers were very clear and all the teachers expressed almost identical opinions. For example, they all see that the function of the teacher educator is to educate and not only to teach. While it was evident from the interviews that each teacher educator has different ideas of the values they should be imparting, they all regarded educating as part of the teacher educators' job. The attempt of the Council of Higher Education to improve the quality of teacher educators by requesting them to become researchers (Vallensky, 2012) is a source of confusion for the interviewees of this study.

The interviewees were, likewise, in agreement on the nature of instruction. They all believe that lessons should be practical and serve as a model of good teaching. This was especially evident in the case of the teacher educator who, despite her theoretical background, acknowledged that what the field most requires is practice.

The other two themes, however, were more complex. The tension between research and teaching is clearly a problem for both EFL and regular teacher educators, as was mentioned in the introduction. It is enough to be a good teacher with the appropriate academic degree when applying for a job in a college but not when looking for promotion; a potential source of frustration for ambitious teachers. It is important to note that both NNTs attitude towards research was more positive and both saw it as part of their PI. This might convey a hidden need on their side to reassure their surrounding of their legitimacy as NNS teacher educators. The question is whether this is a symptom of the same phenomena described by Moussu & Llurda (2008) mentioned above, of teachers who are insecure and question their own identity as legitimate TESOL professionals. Specifically since an Israeli study (Mannes, 2015), examining the PI of EFL high school teachers indicated that NST have higher levels of PI than NNST. Other causes for frustration could be the inability to conduct research due to the colleges' lack of necessary conditions and the feeling that being a good teacher is not sufficiently appreciated. Vallensky's (2012) suggestion to give the same incentives to teaching for high standards might serve as a solution here.

The last theme, namely the effect of being a native or non-native English speaker on EFL teacher educators, is the most ambiguous. Unlike the aforementioned studies regarding feelings of inferiority associated with NNESTs (Moussu & Llurda, 2008; Bernat, 2008), most of the interviewees in this study did not believe that NNESTs have such feelings. They insisted that biographical factors do not influence the choice of EFL teacher educators. However, reality shows otherwise; NNESTs are certainly less common in the four academic colleges included in this study. The big gap between what is said and what is done indicates that this issue is important and should be studied in a different way. The current study is limited by being qualitative and thus conclusions cannot be drawn regarding the rest of the population. Nevertheless, despite this limitation, this study opens the way for further and deeper research which would allow for increased understanding of the issue.

According to the interviewees of this study, it seems that being an EFL teacher educator or researcher of either native or non-native origin can certainly be stressful, especially in this period of changing priorities. However, as a NNEST myself, I regard the changes in academic colleges as an opportunity to demonstrate research-based skills through which non-native teacher educators have an equal opportunity to show their aptitude.

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Key Barriers to Training Effectiveness for Female Head Teachers in Saudi Arabia: A Qualitative Survey

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This paper outlines the results of a research study, the objective of which was to explore barriers to the effectiveness of training programmes for female head teachers in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. The study was carried out in the context of the National Vision 2030, implemented by the Ministry of Education with the goal of developing education in Saudi Arabia. A qualitative method survey was administered in 2018 to 24 supervisors and head teachers; respondents were asked to outline their experiences with teacher training programmes. The results provided insight into barriers to training effectiveness. Specifically, four obstacles related to trainers, trainees or the training environment were identified, all of which minimise the positive impact of training programmes. The two most significant obstacles are related to the trainers and to the lack of motivation among trainees. Based on these findings, the paper provides a series of guidelines designed to overcome these obstacles. The findings of this study are significant in that they reveal important insights for training centres with regard to barriers to effective training. These results may make it easier for trainers to tailor their programmes in order to meet the changing needs of school leadership. Trainees will be able to develop the managerial skills required of head teachers and will meet the requirements of the Ministry of Education; ultimately, educational training programmes in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia will be enhanced.

Keywords: Barriers, training, effectiveness, female, Saudi Arabia

Introduction

The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia (KSA) is witnessing unprecedented development in all aspects aimed at sustainable development, including investment in human capital.

Accordingly, efforts have been focused on the development of human resources in all sectors of the Kingdom in order to maximise the human capital required to bring about progress in the Kingdom and achieve comprehensive development. In order to contribute to achieving this goal, the Ministry of Education seeks to play a prominent role in developing the skills and abilities of its staff, including administrators, teachers and educational leaders, by identifying their training needs and working to meet those needs. The objective is to upgrade the Ministry employees' skills and understanding of relevant areas; it is anticipated that this work will reflect on the education system as a whole.

Head teachers play a key role in achieving the goals of contemporary education. As school leaders, they are responsible for the education of all students, for staff management and for school policy making; they are, therefore, ultimately

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responsible for the functioning and academic standing of the school and for the wellbeing of both students and staff. Implementing training programmes for head teachers is an important means to equip them to meet the administrative, financial, staff, student and technological challenges they may encounter, as well to help them to develop their ability to carry out their tasks effectively (Pheko, 2008; White, 1982).

From this perspective, in the context of efforts that have been made by the Ministry of Education (MOE) to raise the quality and efficiency of performance in schools and to keep abreast of new developments in education, the MOE has adopted a pedagogic training scheme for head teachers. To this end, it has allocated two million SAR from its 2016/2017 budget to support training programmes for teachers and educational leaders (Ministry of Education, 2016). The field of girls' education and training for teachers and head teachers of girls' schools is a focus of the MOE in all provinces in Saudi Arabia.

Literature Review

Training has been defined as the systematic acquisition of skills, rules, attitudes, or concepts that result in improved job performance (Goldstein & Ford, 2002).

The management of any institution is influenced by social and technological developments and the rapid changes experienced in recent years; these direct management policies and practices, both pedagogical and related to employee training. Thus, although organisations must currently be able to respond to demands for change, they must also be aware that advances in technology and knowledge are making many conventional working skills obsolete, while at the same time creating the requirement for new ones. It is the ongoing threat of knowledge obsolescence that makes training and retraining vital, not only for the development of the individual but also for the viability of the organisation (Read & Kleiner, 1996).

In this regard, Mostafa (2004) points out that spending money on training and development allows institutions to avoid spending twice on corrective actions required by the poor performance of employees. Thus, training must be maintained as a key activity and factored in as a significant part of labour costs, as the training of personnel is one of the most important types of investment in human capital. Similarly, Ference (1982, p. 25) emphasised that "the best way to achieve high and quality standards and provide qualified employees is training programs." In a similar vein, Massey (2004, p. 458) stressed that training is "a key developmental strategy", while Almeida-Santos et al. (2010) go so far as to suggest that training is a principal tool and factor in enhancing the standard of living and economic performance in all countries. Indeed, according to Alslhaot (2002), training is the main tool used by various institutions for their employees to acquire proficiency in management skills and cope with challenges in various aspects of contemporary life.

From this perspective, training programmes in educational institutions should be aimed primarily at head teachers, both to equip them to meet challenges they may encounter and to develop their skills (White, 1982). Morrison and Morrison (1995) also stress the significance of training for head teachers, pointing out that all candidates for a head teacher post are teachers, and that few of these will be qualified or experienced in management.

Stroud (2006) analysed the training options for experienced head teachers in the UK and investigated the need for additional training. He carried out interviews and focus groups with fourteen head teachers at primary and secondary schools and concluded that there was a gap in the professional development of head teachers throughout their careers. In support of this, Guskey (2010) asserts that there is a need for planned and continuous efforts to create projects and centres to provide professional development programmes in order to bring about changes in attitudes and beliefs, thus improving the work culture and achieving a consistently high quality in educational institutions. Moreover, to ensure that the aims of education are achieved and to help head teachers to carry out their tasks effectively, the provision of training programmes is a necessity, as indicated by a number of studies carried out in the UK and the USA (Pheko, 2008).

The idea that skilled leaders can be developed through training is supported by leadership research, as Pheko (2008) notes. AlGhamdi and AlGhamdi (2000) concluded that head teachers who have followed training programmes to prepare them for their role have high self-esteem and feel well equipped for their role in schools. Accordingly, they recommend that both long and short training courses be increased for school administrators to raise the level of their performance.

The main justification for a focus on the training of head teachers is given by Stroud (2006), who sees head teachers as a key factor in school improvement and effectiveness, as well as the reason for successful learning and the development of a strong school culture.

In addition, the leadership role played by of the head teacher has become increasingly important with regard to the process of development within the community. Head teachers support learning and develop knowledge, skills and values to improve the quality and efficacy of education, and to achieve a balance between school needs and those of the nation (Earley & Jones, 2010, p. 156). According to Ruskovaara et al. (2016), head teachers play a vital role as leaders and guardians of the educational process. They supply resources, make new connections and set examples in terms of behaviour. If we focus on head teachers, we can come to learn about methods to enhance the effectiveness of entrepreneurship in schools. In the same vein, Mbiti (2016) points out that effective training for head teachers will have a great effect on schools.

The importance of identifying obstacles to the effectiveness of training programmes arises as a result of recognising the importance of training. The key aim of identifying barriers to effective training programmes is to help the educational institution develop and implement a successful training process for its employees.

Components of the Training Process

Training process consists of four components: trainer, trainee, training environment and training programme (Tawfiq, 1994), as shown in Figure 1.

Figure . Components of the Training Process

Each element of the training process affects the effectiveness of training as will be explained below.

The Training Programme

The training delivery is related to structural and organisational aspects of the training programmes (e.g. timing of the programmes, duration, resources provision, and the provision of appealing, good content, and implementation-relevant material).

The characteristics of training, which include aspects of the training programme such as instructional style and practice, is one of three sets of characteristics that are related to training effectiveness (Alvarez, 2004).

According to King et al. (2000, p. 9) "Sound instructional design is the backbone of effective training". Instructional design is the term used to denote the process of preparing effective training. The importance of training design is that it allows organisations to identify what is expected of the trainee's performance before training begins.

Training delivery includes schedule training, conducting training and monitor training. At the design stage, training providers should select the training strategies or directions to be taken to address competence gaps identified by training packages. They define the objectives of the training programme and identify all criteria for evaluating training outcomes, pay-off, and training methods; they also appoint qualified internal trainers or external training providers. The design of a training programme is considered to be the tool that connects the training needs and the goals to be achieved through the programme, resources and training topics (Mohammad et al., 2012).

Training currently poses a considerable challenge. According to Mathis et al. (2015), this is because training providers must take into account the widely varying learning styles, experiences and personal objectives of trainees. For example, training older adults in new technology may necessitate greater effort in explaining the need for changes and in increasing older trainees' confidence and abilities when using such a technology. However, younger adults are more likely to be familiar with new technologies due to their early exposure to them. Because of differences like this, a number of considerations of training designs and delivery must be taken into account when developing training programmes for adults of different ages.

As a result, the use of a variety of instructional methods is held to be an important strategy for training design, resulting in successful training transfer. Through the provision of learning experiences in various ways, the trainees can grasp the training content in both conceptual and experiential terms. A diversity of learning stimuli also assists greatly in retention of the learning (Tennant et al., 2002).

Certain training methods may be more effective than others for a particular task or training content area. Different training methods can be selected to deliver different content (i.e., skill, knowledge, attitudes, or tasks) as all training methods can, and indeed are, intended to convey specific skills, knowledge, attitudinal, or task information to trainees. Hence, the effect of the skill or task type on the effectiveness of training is a result of the combination of the training delivery method and the skill or task to be trained (Arthur et al., 2003).

When choosing methods of training delivery, several factors must be taken into consideration. These are the nature and topic of the training; the number of trainees; whether the training is for individuals or a team; whether it is guided or self-paced; whether it is conducted online or in the traditional way; the resources and costs of the training; the location of the training; the time allotted to it; and the timeline for its completion (Mathis et al., 2015).

The growth of training technology has expanded the choices available to trainers according to the type of training, approaches and methods which can be used to conduct training (Mathis et al., 2015). Moreover, before undergoing training, the trainees are provided with the necessary information about the time and place of the training. Qualified internal trainers or external training providers are selected, whose responsibilities are to carry out all the activities specified to ensure effective interaction between the trainer and the trainee, monitor the implementation of the training programme and avoid errors, as well as to provide support through the provision of the appropriate environment, tools and materials to conduct the training programmes and convey information for trainees in an optimal way (Aidan, 2012). Lim (2000) confirmed that the use of diverse instructional methods is considered an important strategy for training design that leads to successful training transfer. By providing learning experiences in different ways, the trainees can master the training content conceptually and experientially. Diverse learning stimuli also help retention of the learning to a great degree.

Santos et al. (2003) suggest that it is important for students to see the relevance of course content for their work to be more motivated to apply and learn

the information on the job. This is important for the transfer of training: when trainees feel good about or satisfied with the training programme, they are more likely to perceive the training content as relevant, and transfer is more likely to take place.

The study showed that the effectiveness of training needed to be improved through the optimization of training design; the redefinition of training roles; the provision of an adequate budget; commitment from management; attention to individual, job and organisational needs; the use of motivation mechanisms; and the use of ongoing and summative evaluation Farjad (2012). Defining factors include job-based training, defined training based on poor performance, defined training based on organisational objectives, consideration of the needs of individual learners, staff awareness of the objectives of training courses, continuity of training, application of training to the workplace and proper implementation of training can directly lead to improving the effectiveness of training Farjad (2012).

The Trainer

In addition to the structural and organisational aspects of a training programme, it is important to consider the role of the trainer in determining the effectiveness of the training. Trainers act as mediating agents between programme planners or policy-makers and trainees, or the actual "customers" of training programmes. Their role in the process is to implement training plans.

A number of studies highlight the importance of the quality and efficiency of the trainer and their style in ensuring the success of the training programme. For example, Sitzmann et al. (2008) found that instructor style and human interaction had the strongest effect on trainee reactions. When trainees feel good about or are satisfied with the training programme, they likely perceive the training content as relevant, and transfer is more likely to take place. Marsh and Overall (1980) found that if a trainee liked their instructor, they were more likely to be satisfied and motivated to do better in the course. Morgan and Casper (2000) examined the structure of participant reactions to training and concluded that the trainer is of high importance in trainees' total discernment of the training; the instructor was found to have a strong influence on trainees' general satisfaction. Finally, Turner et al. (2018) pointed out that the instructor's skills and knowledge had a particular influence on the trainees.

It is clear, then, that satisfaction with the trainer plays a role in the transfer of skills and knowledge delivered through the training programme (Bhatti et al., 2014).

The Training Environment

The extent to which training programmes can be considered a success depends, at least partially, on the amount of support provided in terms of facilities and resources. The facilities provided in the training centre include the organisation of the training room, training means and techniques, and the provision of toilet facilities and meals and drinks. The importance of facilities and

resources cannot be ignored in evaluating the effectiveness of a training programme. Bhatti et al. (2014) confirm that an understanding of environmental factors may enhance training effectiveness and improve employee performance.

Mumford (1988) suggests some intrinsic and extrinsic factors which may prevent trainees from participating in the training programme. He identifies three extrinsic inhibitors to training, one of which is physical logistical constraints, such as the location of the training. In addition, environmental and situational factors can affect trainee learning and transfer after training (Turner et al., 2018); this was confirmed by Azab (2002), whose study of training provided for Jordanian public servants showed that one of the weakness of the programme was that lecture halls were not prepared properly. Al-Qaisi (2010) recommended that the requirements of the training environment be identified and developed in order to achieve the desired results of the training.

The Trainee

Trainee characteristics include conscientiousness, self-efficacy, motivation to learn, learning goal orientation, performance goal orientation, instrumentality (Tziner et al., 2007), job function, position and job experience (Swaminathan and Sudhakar, 2017). Trainee characteristics are an important factor in the effectiveness of training and the transfer of training to the work environment. The literature suggests that the trainee characteristics having the greatest influence on the outcome of training are those related either to personality or to motivation (Tziner et al., 2007). The attribute emphasised in this study is motivation, which has been shown to have an effect on the outcome of training.

Motivation of Trainees. The definition of motivation is "variability in behaviour not attributable to stable individual differences (e.g. cognitive ability) or strong situational coercion" (Hysong & Quiñones, 1997, p. 182–183). Motivation to learn refers to the intention of the trainee to invest high levels of consistent effort in a certain training programme (Tziner et al., 2007). Training motivation is frequently described as being two-faceted: motivation to learn and motivation to transfer. Motivation to learn is the employee's wish to learn what is being taught in the training programme. Motivation to transfer refers to employees' desire to use their knowledge and skills learnt in training programmes on the job (Kim et al., 2014).

Studies have suggested that employees' motivation for training is an important factor in achieving the desired outcomes of training (Baldwin & Magjuka, 1991; Facteau et al., 1995; Mathieu et al., 1992; Noe & Wilk, 1993; Sitzmann et al., 2008). Motivation can influence how willing an employee is to attend training (Noe & Wilk, 1993), to invest resources in the training (Ryman & Biersner, 1975) to increase learning from training (Mathieu & Martineau, 1997; Tziner et al., 1991) and to transfer their learning to their job (Badwin & Ford, 1988; Colquitt et al., 2000).

To raise employees' motivation for training, managers should inform them about the importance of training prior to their attendance (Tai, 2006). According to Tsai and Tai (2003), employees were more motivated when encouraged by

management to attend a training programme than if they decided themselves to attend. This is due to the fact that management-assigned training is obviously important, and the nature of assigning the training (whether voluntary or mandatory) can enhance the trainees' perception. Some empirical studies demonstrate that advance information creates more motivation. Hicks and Klimoski (1987) found that motivation increased when trainees attended training programmes after being given accurate information from their superiors; having correct information about the training allowed trainees to prepare for the event and increased motivation to learn. Baldwin and Magjuka, (1991) also showed that trainees who were given information in advance of training programmes showed more motivation than others (Tai, 2006) .

Similarly, support from leaders has a positive influence on public sector employees' training motivation, specifically, the motivation to transfer learnt knowledge and skills to their jobs (Kim et al., 2014). Moreover, King et al. (2000) suggest that trainee motivation can be improved by asking trainees to set their own goals, by using different motivational strategies, by supporting participation during training and by linking the subject matter to job-related difficulties and circumstances.

Methodology

Participants and Procedure

The sample of the study consisted of twelve head teachers, all at different schools (primary, intermediate and secondary), and twelve educational supervisors working as trainers and supervisors for head teachers. It is important to emphasise that the education system in KSA is segregated by gender in all schools and universities. As is accepted practice for a conservative Islamic society, article 155 of the Policy of Education in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia (1969) prevents the mixing of males and females throughout the different stages of their education, except for nursery school (Alhqail, 2011). Therefore, the study was limited to female head teachers.

The study used a survey method to explore the barriers to training effectiveness. Data was collected in two phases:

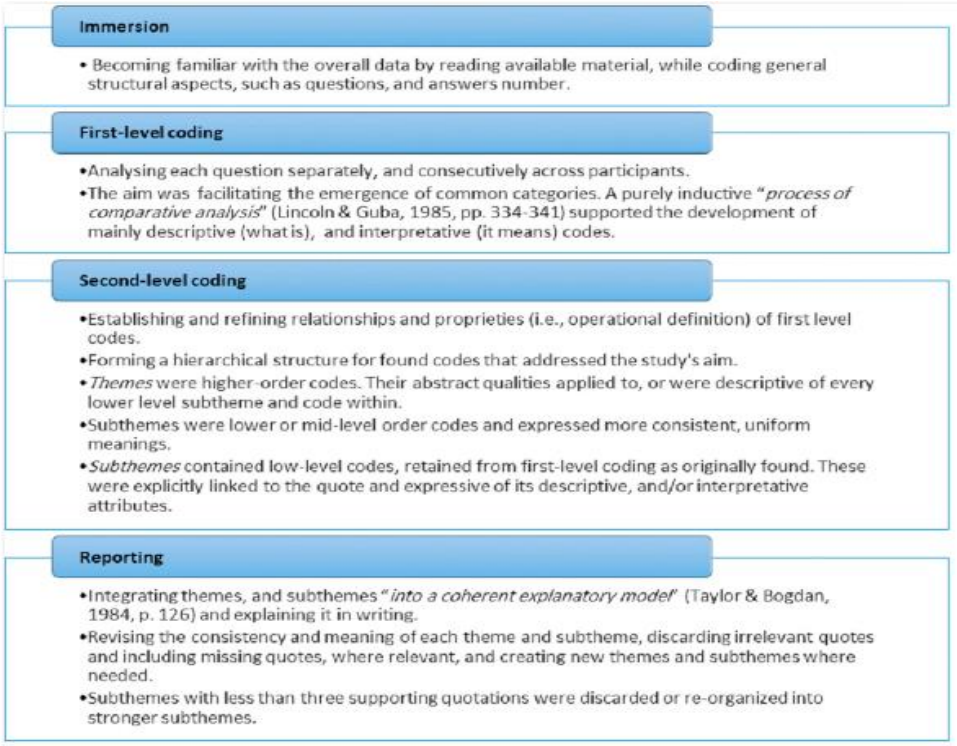
- Phase 1: Questionnaires with open questions; this was answered by twelve head teachers.
- Phase II: Interviews with twelve supervisors.

For the interviews, a one-to-one, semi-structured format was used. This is the most common type of interview used in qualitative research (Holloway & Galvin, 2017), as it allows a great deal of flexibility. A semi-structured interview involves a series of questions; the researcher retains the freedom to omit or add to some of these questions, and to follow up on specific points during the flow of the conversation.

Data Analysis

To analyse the qualitative data obtained from the study, the process was supported by the software NVivo 11 Pro. Data were anonymised and numeric pseudonyms (#1 to #24), randomly assigned by the software were used to identify participants. Thematic analysis (TA) was the method chosen for analysing their interview transcripts. Overall, the TA process employed for the analysis of the data was qualitative, thematic, inductive and iterative, involving four main iterative stages (Easterby-Smith et al., 2012; Taylor & Bogdan, 1984). A hierarchical structure was established between the more inclusive and abstract themes and their subthemes. See next Figure for the coding process.

Figure 2. Coding Process



Findings and Analysis of Qualitative Data

Participants discussed the "obstacles" and factors hindering the achievement of positive outcomes and sometimes made suggestions for addressing those aspects of the training that negatively affected the results of training. Head teachers discussed three obstacles, while supervisors added a further obstacle, namely, lack of motivation. Figure 3 shows a comparison of the obstacles referred to by the head teachers and the supervisors.

Figure 3. Comparison of the Obstacles Referred to by the Head Teachers and Supervisors

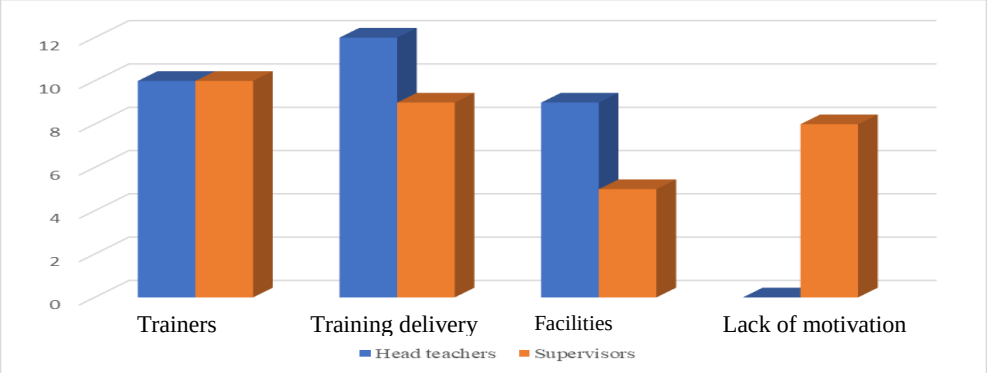


Figure 3 shows that both head teachers and supervisors see a lack of preparation on the part of trainers as an obstacle to the success of training. All head teachers identified the reasons for the training as a factor, versus nine of the supervisors; the head teachers who receive training realise the importance of this factor, as well as the importance of the training facilities. In contrast, the study found that lack of motivation among trainees was not mentioned as a factor by a single head teacher, yet eight supervisors pointed out its importance. The most commonly discussed "mediating factors" were: training programme (N=21); trainers and their materials (N=20); facilities (N=14); and lack of motivation (N=8).

The most commonly discussed factor related to the content of the training, particularly where there was low potential for implementation of the training content. As #20 remarked, one factor affecting the positive impact of training programmes was the "lack of implementation and expertise transfer, where some training programmes are remote from the field reality, being mere theoretical and cannot be implemented in reality." Four participants emphasised the importance of implementation, linking it to the quality of the trainer and the presented material. There was one participant for whom "the educational output result is satisfactory after implementation of the training courses for the head teachers" (#4). Other comments described factors that decreased the quality of the content. These included the subjects included in training programmes, the repetitive nature of training, confusing content and the lack of new management theories and practices (to possibly solve via ministerial legislation).

Some comments addressed the frequency of training. The large number of courses offered each semester represented an interruption from regular duties in school, and "time loss" for head teachers (#2). For example, #12 remarked that "for experienced head teachers, boredom and work interruption are negative, especially if the programme is repetitive." For this participant, the relevance, novelty or quality of the taught content was critical, as it could affect the experience and work of head teachers –and, through "cascade" sharing of knowledge, the overall institution. These participants offered solutions, such as focusing on "the quality rather than quantity" (#11) of training courses; or

providing "assistants for the head teacher, who perform the work of the head teacher while she is absent from work to attend training courses" (#3).

The second most commonly discussed factor was related to trainers. This subtheme brings together a wide variety of comments highlighting how the quality of both the trainer and the taught material was critical and encompassed many different "components" (#7, #14). First, some respondents indicated a lack of satisfaction with the trainer's preparedness or ability to deliver the material; for example, #11 complained of "weak preparation of the training material by the trainer". Other trainees #23 were referred to the "non-efficiency of trainer in presenting the training content as well as being remote from discussion and dialogue with trainees". In some cases, the experience of the trainees exceeded the information given by the trainer, indicating a mismatch between training needs and provision (#19).

For some participants, the issue of finding the right trainer could be addressed, and the benefits of training maximised, by employing trainers with practical field experience. Participants #15 and #12 in particular mentioned ways to improve the selection of trainers. Comments included:

> "... training programmes with a field trainer are more beneficial, so we have a peer training programme. We appoint the head teachers with long experience as trainers to the rest of the head teachers. This would give a massive and highly effective impact (#18)."

The third factor discussed by the participants was a lack of motivation among head teachers to attend training programmes. The subthemes of motivation, attendance and rewards included discussions about how head teachers sometimes lacked the motivation to attend training programmes or implement the course content. Such lack of motivation minimised the positive impact of training programmes and could be addressed by offering moral and/or financial incentives and penalties. Participant #5 explored this solution in detail:

> "… lack of motivation by head teachers, so attendance at training courses must be linked with incentives and penalties, i.e. vacations and certificates of appreciation, encouraging the head teachers and increasing their motivation to attend the training programmes."

Seven participants discussed the importance of incentives, almost as many as those discussing the impact of head teachers' motivation upon the outcomes of training. It is noted that this factor was discussed by supervisors only; the head teachers did not mention it. This is because the supervisors are the ones who supervise and understand the reasons for not attending training programs.

The final obstacle to the success of training programmes is facilities; some participants mentioned the importance of the facilities where the training was provided. In brief, participants remarked that the training centre should be geographically close for trainees (#12: "remoteness of the training centres"); sufficiently large (#9: "if the training environment is not suitable, narrow, small"); fully equipped (#12: "equipping the place to hold the training programmes; i.e.

halls, methods and devices' and #22: "training centre is very poor in services; it is not comfortable and does not provide training requirements"). These are considered necessary to maximise the benefits of training.

Discussion

A set of factors that minimise the main and cascade effects of head teachers' training programmes was described, and suggestions for improvement were provided. These can be divided into four factors.

The First Obstacle: The Training Programme

This obstacle refers to structural and organisational aspects of the training programme (e.g. timing and duration), and to the provision of appealing content and relevant material. Twenty participants complained about some aspect of the training programme. Concerns included lack of inclusiveness in the subjects taught; repetitive and/or confusing content; a lack of new management theories and practices; and the fact that some training programmes are remote from the field of reality, being merely theoretical, and unable to be implemented in reality.

The above findings are consistent with other studies on training and the evaluation of training. Basyouny (2000), for example, showed that certain characteristics of training, related both to the actual programmes and to the training methods, caused problems. The former covered such concerns as lack of inclusiveness, lack of coherence between training programmes and training needs, failure to provide focused programmes, and repetitive and confusing content. The latter included failure to address the practicality of theory, failure to use training programmes and not enough field visits.

Santos et al. (2003) suggest that it is important for students to see the relevance of course content for their work to be more motivated to apply and learn information on the job. This is important for the transfer of training when trainees feel good about or satisfied with the training programme, they likely perceive the training content as relevant, and transfer is more likely to take place. Hence, satisfaction with training plays a role in training transfer (Bhatti et al., 2014).

The study showed that effectiveness evaluation in the subject centre needed to be improved through optimising the design of training, redefining training roles and providing an appropriate budget. Also important are management commitment; attention to individual, job and organisational needs; the use of motivation mechanisms and the use of ongoing and summative evaluation (Farjad, 2012). Factors that can directly lead to improving the effectiveness of training include defined training based on the trainee's job; defined training based on poor performance; defined training based on organisational objectives; consideration of the needs of individual learners; staff awareness of the objectives of training courses; continuity of training programmes; application of training in the workplace; and proper implementation of training (Farjad, 2012).

This obstacle can potentially be overcome by providing appealing, accurate and implementation-relevant material, and by basing the plans of the training programmes on the requirements of the Ministry of Education, taking into account the diversity of programmes and not replicating them to the same trainees. There is frequent training each semester, representing an interruption from regular duties in school, and time loss for head teachers. It is crucial that the training delivered be new to the trainees and of high quality; otherwise, it could affect the experience and work of the head teachers, and, through "cascade" teaching, influence the overall institution. These participants offered solutions, such as focusing on the quality rather than the number of courses; or providing an assistant for the head teacher, who can perform the work of the head teacher while the latter is absent from work to attend the training courses.

The Second Obstacle: Trainers

The barrier most commonly discussed by supervisors related to trainers and their materials. This was mentioned by eight of the trainees in their open-ended questions and by ten of the supervisors in their interviews. These trainees believed that the changes after the training programmes were not positive; their reaction to the trainer was not positive and they complained of the professional limited skills of the trainer. This shows there is a positive correlation between the trainer and positive changes for trainees.

This is also consistent with other studies. A study by Sitzmann et al. (2008) indicates that instructor style and human interaction had the strongest effect on trainee reactions. If a trainee likes their instructor, they are more likely to be satisfied and motivated to do better in the course. This supports earlier findings by Marsh and Overall (1980). Morgan and Casper (2000) examined participant reactions to training and concluded that the trainer is of high importance in trainees' total discernment of the training, and that the instructor has a significant influence on trainees' general satisfaction. Similarly, Turner et al. (2018) pointed out that the instructor had a particular influence on the trainees.

Selection of trainers and their role in the success of the training should be taken into consideration by training centres and training organisers. Respondents in the study discussed ways to improve the selection of trainers in two ways: first, by employing trainers with practical field experience; and second, through a peer-training programme whereby the training is assigned to a head teacher with a significant amount of experience, who can train other head teachers.

The Third Obstacle: Lack of Motivation among Trainees

The third obstacle to the effectiveness of training referred to by the supervisors is lack of motivation among head teachers to attend training programmes. Such lack of motivation minimises the positive impact of training programmes as confirmed by Roberts et al. (2018); Grossman & Salas (2011); and Colquitt et al. (2000); they conclude that trainee characteristics and motivation are the most important antecedents to training transfer. Similarly, Kim et al. (2014)

supports findings that trainee motivation towards training and development is decisive in ensuring the effectiveness of training programmes in which organisations invest.

Interviewees suggested that one reason for a lack of motivation is that some trainees consider training to represent an interruption from regular duties, and a potential "waste of time". These reasons were confirmed by Mabey and Thomson (2000), who identified several factors that impede managers' participation, including time pressure and costs. Thomson et al. (2001) point out that another reason for lack of motivation is doubt among trainees that any tangible benefits will result for attending the training.

The participants offered two solutions to this issue. The first involves providing assistants for head teachers; these assistants can perform the work of the head teacher during her participation in training courses. The second involves linking attendance at training courses to incentives and penalties, such as vacations, certificates of appreciation, and increased degrees of performance, thereby encouraging the head teachers and increasing their motivation to attend training programmes. This is confirmed by Bhatti (2014), who investigated the relationship between intrinsic rewards and training retention and found that intrinsic rewards promote transfer and reinforce retention. This could be one form of positive perception toward training, with intrinsic rewards tied to training**.** Moreover, lack of motivation can be addressed by the supervisor, who requires the head teacher to take part in the training programme, and who sends a clear signal that the training is important. The manner in which the training is assigned (mandatory attendance or volunteer) can enhance trainee perception of the task (Tsai & Tai, 2003). Similarly King et al. (2000) suggests enhancing training motivation by involving trainees in setting their own training objectives to increase their commitment and motivation in achieving them, by encouraging participation during training delivery, by using a variety of motivational strategies, and by linking the training subject matter to situations occurring in the workplace.

It is noted that this factor was discussed by supervisors only; the head teachers did not mention it. This is because the supervisors are the ones who supervise head teachers and understand their reasons for not attending training programs.

The Fourth Obstacle: Training Centre Facilities

Twelve participants referred to the nature of training centres as an obstacle. The importance of facilities and resources cannot be ignored in evaluating the effectiveness of a training programme. Bhatti et al. (2014) suggest that an understanding of environmental factors may enhance the effectiveness of training and improve employee performance after training. Turner et al. (2018) confirm that training programmes can succeed or fail depending, at least partially, on the amount of support provided in terms of facilities and resources. Many environmental and situational factors can affect trainee learning and transfer after training.

The study showed that the training environment in training centres is often less than ideal; centres are not well equipped to the level that satisfies most

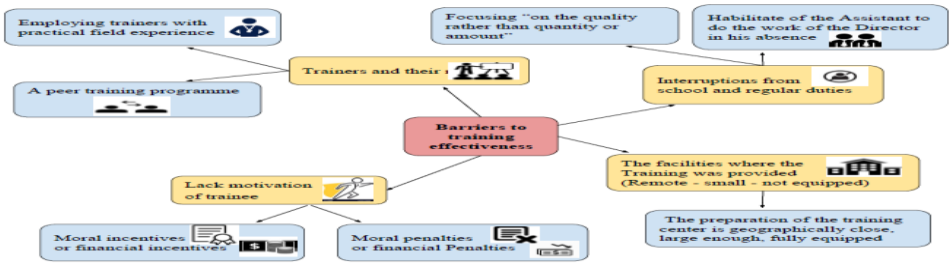
trainees and makes them feel comfortable. This may, in turn, affect trainees and lead to weaknesses in the training process. This is evidenced by research on training evaluation in the Middle Eastern context, notably, a study by Azab (2002) into training evaluation for Jordanian public servants, and one by Alsaadia (2008) who aimed to evaluate the strengths and weaknesses of the training programme for the basic education of head teachers in the Sultanate of Oman. One of the reasons for the weakness of the programme was that lecture halls were not prepared properly.

These findings have the potential to inform future research into training, to investigate the role that a training environment may play, and to assess the relationship of reaction results and the training environment. Al-Qaisi (2010) recommends the provision of specific requirements for the training environment in order to achieve the results of training. Thus, future research should consider how environmental factors enhance the effects of training.

It is noted that trainees referred to this obstacle more frequently than supervisors. This is due to the fact that the trainees are active participants in the training, and they see and note the lack of services in the training centre.

Figure 4 summarises barriers to training effectiveness with solutions proposed.

Figure 4. Barriers to Training Effectiveness with Solutions Proposed



Conclusions

The present article is aimed at identifying obstacles to the effectiveness of training programmes in Saudi Arabia. The significance of the findings in the study is justified by the fact that they provide insights for training centers with regard to the effective training aimed at comprehensive development in KSA.

The study used a survey method to explore the barriers to training effectiveness (questionnaires and interviews).

Our findings from the study showed that certain characteristics of training, related both to the actual programmes and to the training methods, trainers, lack of motivation among trainees and training centre facilities all significantly impact on effectiveness of training.

This study suggests that better access to quality training content, good trainers, quality facilities and support for trainees' motivation through a rewards system can be crucial in overcoming barriers to the effectiveness of training programmes.

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